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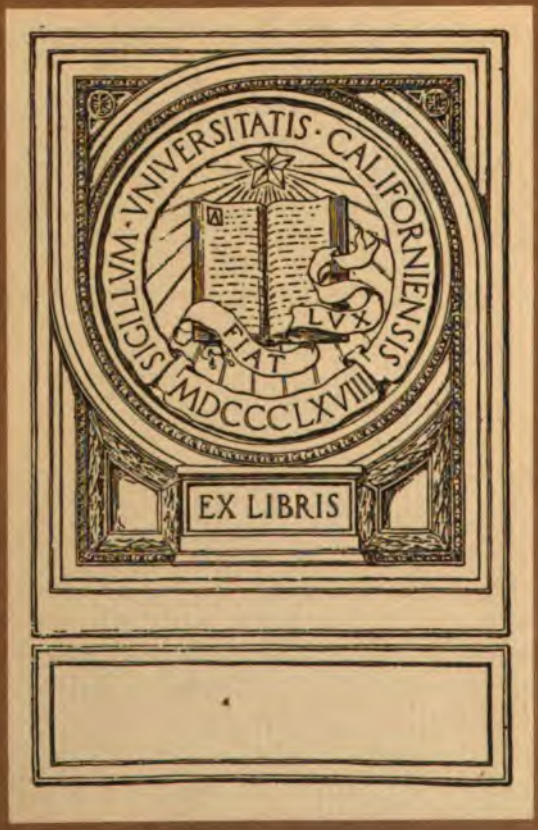
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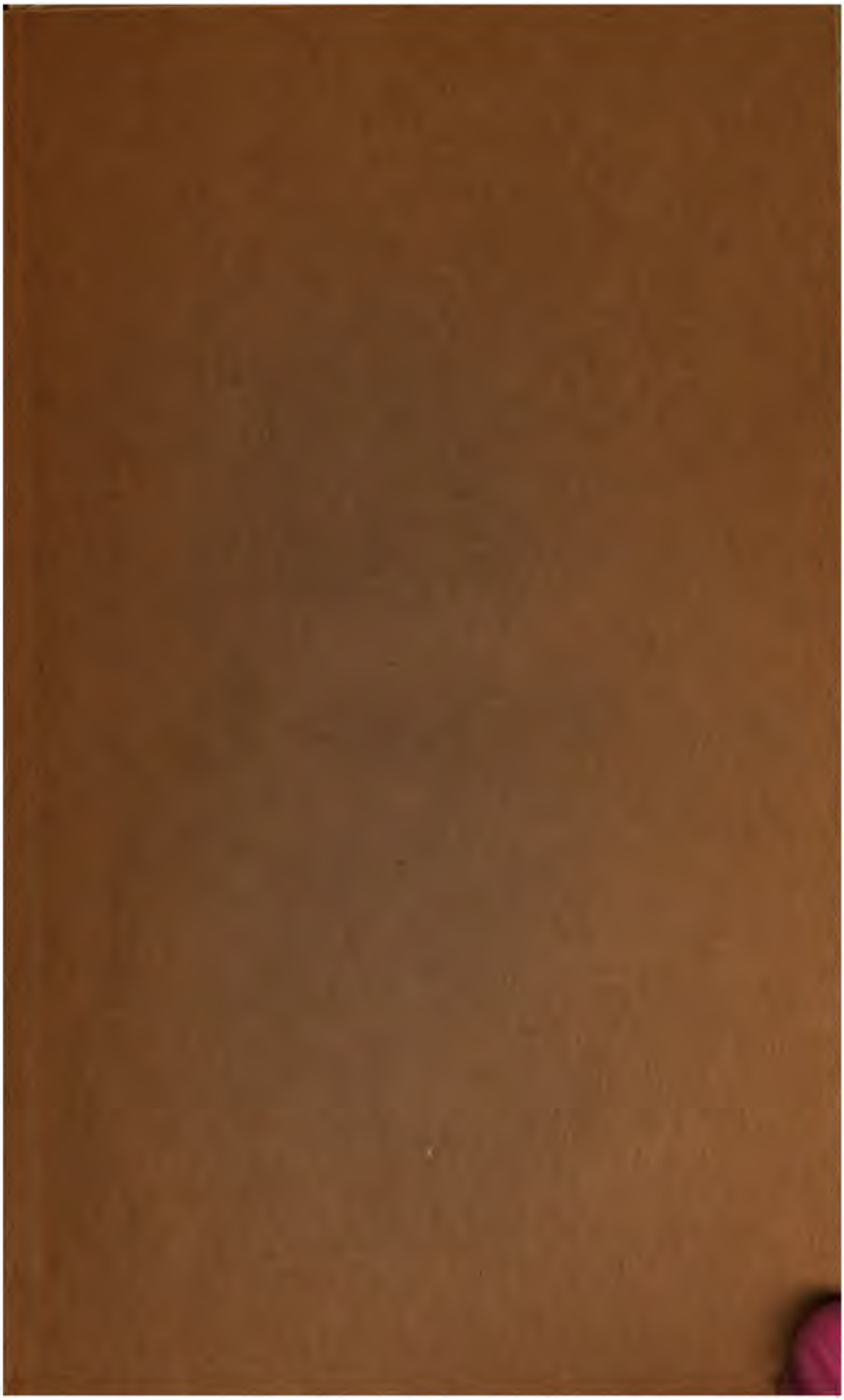

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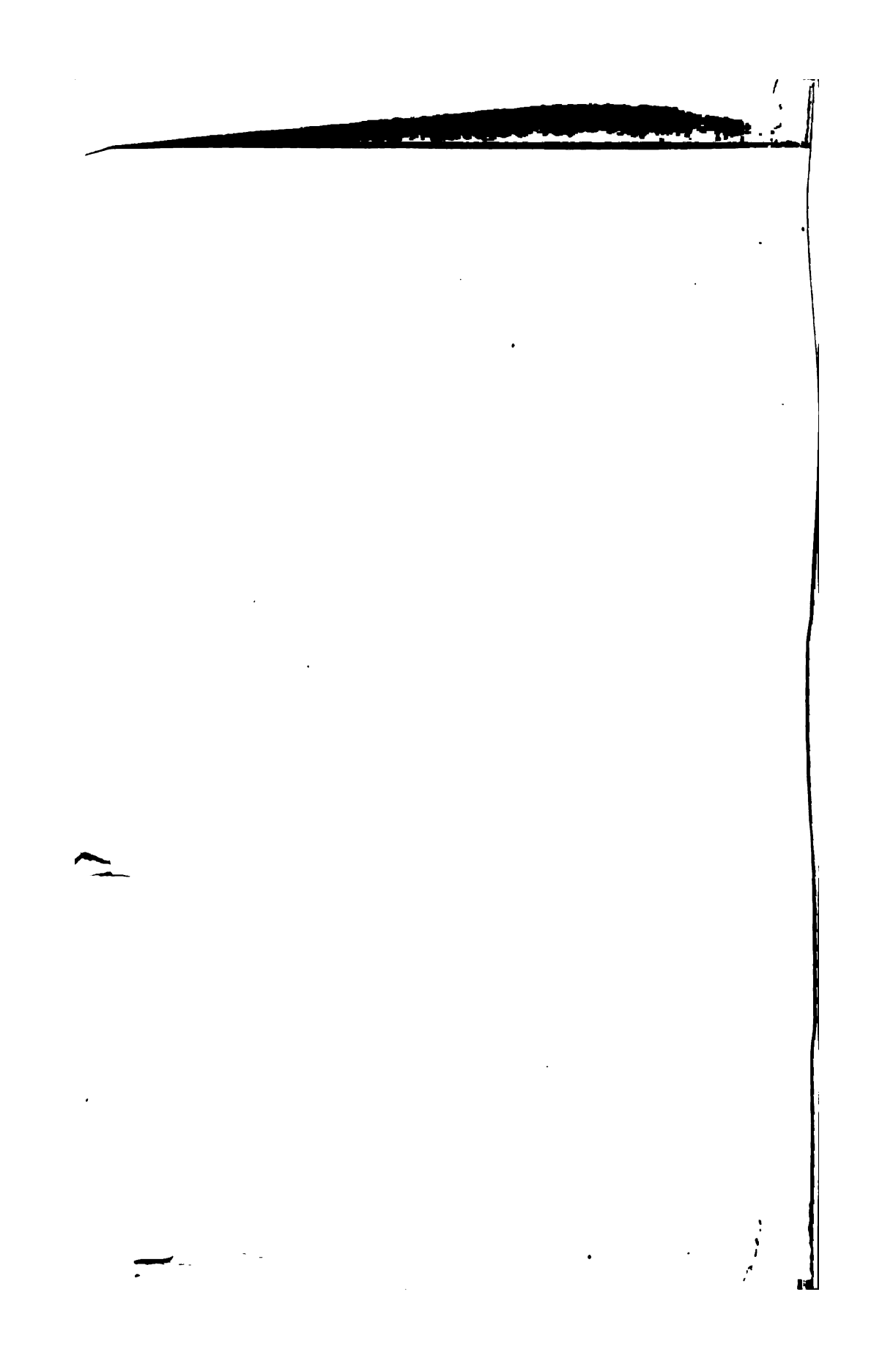

THE

CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS,

AS SEEN IN

ST. OSMUND'S RITE

FOR

THE CATHEDRAL OF SALISBURY;

WITH DISSERTATIONS ON

The Belief and Ritual in England

BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMING OF THE NORMANS.

BY

DANIEL ROCK, D.D.

CANON OF THE ENGLISH CHAPTER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS.

PART THE FIRST CONTINUED.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.

DURING the first thousand years after the establishment of Christianity, what we now call the alb, or long, wide, sleeved tunic, generally of linen, reaching down to the feet and fastened round the loins by a girdle, was of the sacred garments that one most in requisition, for it was always worn in the celebration of the divine service by every order of the clergy, whatever might be their other respective liturgical ornaments, from the lowest singing-boy up to the Roman Pontiff himself. To the under rank of clerks, it was sometimes indeed the only kind of vestment allowed in their ministrations at the public worship.

THE SURPLICE

in its present shape was not then known; nor can even that word be found in any of the documents

either in this country or abroad belonging to those ages.[32] We ought not to wonder at this, since, in truth, the surplice is nothing else but the alb somewhat modified in shape, a change it underwent in accommodating itself to the every-day dress which was introduced about the eleventh century. Then it was that various kinds of fur were adopted for clothing, if not for the first time, at least very generally, especially among the Anglo-Saxon clergy.[33] Having to spend many hours at church, day and night throughout the year in performing the divine office, it was thought well in a cold country like ours to allow the secular clergy, at least, to wear

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[32] A most eminent English canonist, Lyndwood, while speaking of the surplice, tells us: De qua tamen veste non memini me legisse in toto corpore juris canonici vel civilis, nec etiam in Sacra Scriptura: fit tamen de ea mentio infrà.—*Provinciale*, p. 53, note *c*.

[33] The use as an article of dress of fur among the Anglo-Saxons of the lower period, as well as its great variety, are both well marked in the following passage from the life of St. Wulstan: Cum enim interrogasset, cur agninas pelles haberet (S. Wlstanus) qui sabelinas vel castorinas vel vulpinas habere posset et deberet; eleganter respodit: eum et homines prudentiæ sæcularis gnaros versutorum animalium pellibus uti debere; se nullius tergiversationis conscium pelliculis agninis contentum esse. Cumque ille instaret referretque ut vel saltem cattos indueret: Crede mihi, respondit Wlstanus, sæpius cantatur Agnus Dei quam cattus Dei.—*Will. Malmesberiensis de Vita S. Wlstani*, lib. iii, c. 1, apud Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii, p. 259.

raiment lined with furs. Now as the outermost garment was the one so made, immediately over his furred robe the minor clerk, when he arrayed himself for his ministry in the church, put the long linen tunic or alb, the only sort of vestment permitted him during the late Anglo-Saxon epoch to assume, for the use to him had been withdrawn of the chasuble, which, though of less costly stuffs than those of the priests, were used no doubt here in Saxon England, by all orders of the clergy, as we know it was on the continent in early times. Hence as it was worn next to the clerk's furred gown, the alb began to be called "superpelliceum," shortened in English into surplice: certain it is that the word is to be found for the first time among the laws of our St. Edward the Confessor,[34]

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[34] Et postea justicia episcopi faciat venire processionem cum sacerdote induto alba et manipulo et stola et clericis in suppelliciis cum aqua benedicta et cruce et candelabris et thuribulo cum igne et incenso.—*Leges Regis Edwardi Confessoris, De Latron.*, Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. i, p. 460.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the alb was ordered to be used at those functions in the performance of which a surplice would now be worn. The council of Rouen, A.D. 1072, enacted that the holy oils should be distributed by the deans arrayed in albs; and that the priest who administered baptism must have on an alb and stole: Chrismatis et olei distributio a decanis summa diligentia et honestate fiat; ita ut interim dum distribuerint albis

so that we would fain believe that not only the name but the form of this church robe itself, took their rise in England. It is probable, the more readily to slip on the alb, especially over a large winter furred gown, it began to be widened particularly about the sleeves; and as superpelliceum aptly expressed the difference between the alb assigned to the younger churchmen, and the same vestment worn by their elders, that word crept into currency, till at length, the alb, from going sometimes under a new name, and assuming broader skirts and wider sleeves, and being worn without a girdle, took its place towards the beginning of the twelfth century as a distinct vesture for her ministers throughout the Latin bounds of the Church.

Perhaps it was a peculiarity known in England alone for the surplice to have, as it had in some parts of this country, attached to it a hood which might be drawn up and worn over the head.[35]

The surplice, however, was not allowed so

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sint induti.—*Orderici Vitalis Eccl. Hist.* lib. iv, p. 527, ed. Duchesnio, Parisiis, 1619.

Nullus sacerdos baptizet infantem nisi ieiunus et indutus alba et stola nisi necessitate.—*Ibid.*

[35] Ministris altaris fiant superpellicea cum caputiis, quæ caput et colli nuda protegant, quum sacerdotalibus vestimentis induendi fuerint. Such was one of the regulations drawn up by St. Gilbert of Sempringham for his order, A.D. 1131.—*Cap. pro Canonicis, Monast. Anglic.*, tom. vii, p. *1. new edit.

thoroughly to supersede the use among the lower clergy of its prototype the alb, but what that latter garment, at the more solemn services, such as high Mass, and in great processions,[36] was required, up to the last day of its being, in the Use which St. Osmund framed for Salisbury, to be worn by the younger clerks who had to wait more immediately

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[36] John Brompton, who was abbot of Jervaux, in Yorkshire, A.D. 1193, in his description of the coronation of our Richard with the Lion-heart, tells us: In prima fronte præcedebant clerici albis induti portantes aquam benedictam, crucem et cereos et thuribulos.—*Hist. Anglic. Scriptores*, ed. Twysden, p. 1158.

Till the second half of the twelfth century, not a surplice but an alb was worn by the sacristan, who, in our cathedrals, had to show the relics. Of the practice followed at Durham, about the year 1170, we are told by one of its monks: Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis ei ostendere voluit reliquiarum sanctuaria sanctiora. Itaque B. Cuthberti libellus præcipui honoris exstitit, quem a Benedicto sacrista albis induto, honorifice ad altare majus delatum cum suspendiculo, archipræsulis collo circumposuit.—*Reginaldus Dunelmensis, De Admir. S. Cuthberti*, p. 198.

That in the thirteenth century it was somewhat new for priests to wear the surplice, may be gathered from an observation of our John Garland, a writer of that time, who remarks: Moderni sacerdotes habent . . . . . superlicia vel ut quidam dicunt superpelicia, quare sacerdotes solebant habere pellicia et desuper illa ornamenta in publico mundiciam protendo.—*Comentarius Liber*, MS. in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, fol. 209.

around the altar, and ministered as acolytes and incense-bearers at the holy Sacrifice.[37]

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[37] That the acolytes, according to the Sarum rite, were to serve at high Mass "albis induti," is clear from chapter lxvii, *De modo benedicendi aquam*, etc. p. 46, in the third part of this work, as well as from cap. xciii, where it is ordered: Diacono et subdiacono casulis indutis—ceteris ministris in albis existentibus (*ib.* p. 58). Such a rite was kept here in England up to the last day that the Use of Salisbury was followed, as may be seen in the *Processionale* printed in London, in Mary's reign, A.D. 1555, where we find this rubric: Omnibus dominicis diebus per annum post primam et capitulum: nisi in duplicibus festis et in dominica in ramispalmarum a sacerdote ebdomedario alba et cappa serica induto cum diacono et subdiacono qui textum deferant, et cum thuribulario et duobus ceroferariis, et accolito crucem deferente: omnibus albis cum amictibus indutis, etc. (*Benedictio salis et aque dominicis diebus, ib.* fol. ij). Again: In die Nativitatis . . . Precedat minister virgam manu gestans, locum faciens processioni: deinde aqua benedicta: deinde tres cruces a tribus accolitis albis et tunicis deferentibus: deinde ceroferarii ij albis cum amictibus induti tantum: deinde duo thuribularii in simili habitu, etc. Quod in omnibus duplicibus festis observetur in quibus it processio (*ib.* fol. ix). Albs for the clerks who carried the tapers and bore the thuribles on Maundy Thursday, are specified by St. Osmund.—*See* p. 70, *in the third part of this work.*

On the continent also, the alb still continued, notwithstanding the introduction of the surplice, to be worn by all minor clerks; and Honorius of Autun, A.D. 1130, writing but a few years after St. Osmund, tells us: Ministris infe-

The spirit of St. Osmund's rubrics clearly is, that though the surplice might be worn by those

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rioris ordinis, scilicet hostiariis, lectoribus, exorcistis, acco-litis, tres sacræ vestes conceduntur .... Portant namque superhumerale ... Tunicam talarem id est albam portant ... Balteo id est zona jubentur renes præcingere, etc. (*Gemma Animæ*, lib. i, cap. 226); and a few years before, Rupert, abbot of Duyts on the Rhine, A.D. 1111, observed that, as a sign of joy on the higher festivals, the youths belonging to a church walked clad in albs and carried maniples in their hands, along with their elders, in the procession: Solemus enim in huiusmodi festis omnes in albis stare vel procedere.—Convenienter ergo in albis procedentes, simul etiam omnes a senibus usque ad infantes manipulos portamus.—*Rupertus Tuitiensis, De Divin. Offic.* lib. ii, cap. 23.

According to the usages drawn up for the Cluniacs by St. Udalric, A.D. 1110, all the monks of that order who could sing, had to wear albs in the choir at high Mass: Ad majorem Missam omnes qui cantare sciunt sunt in albis (*Antiq. Consuet. Cluniacensis Monast. collect. S. Udalrico*, apud D'Acherii *Spicilegium*, tom. i, p. 649). Concerning such a practice, there is a curious notice in that interesting work *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem Monachum.* Among other reproofs the over-stern Cistercian throws out against the Cluniacs: In hoc etiam valde reprehensibilis est consuetudo vestra, quod laici monachi albas induunt contra præceptum canonum, quas in nostro ordine nec tangere audent. To this the meeker Cluniac answers with mildness: Propterea quædam monasteria nostra habent albas non consecratas, quas laici monachi induunt.—Apud Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* tom. v, p. 1627.

of the clergy who sat in the choir, or had to move to another quarter of the church to sing any por-

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To the very last, the Benedictines in England always wore albs on grand and solemn processions: at the coronation of Henry VII's queen, "byfor the Prelats went the Monks of Westminster al in Albes" (*Leland's Collect.* vol. iii, p. 223). But the secular clergy of this kingdom always sought to carry out St. Osmund's rubrics: in the statutes for his new foundation of St. Mary's, at Ottery, Bishop Grandison, A.D. 1339, ordained: Quod omni anno in festo S. Michaelis sacrista faciat fieri ad minus duas albas cum amictibus pro sacerdote et diacono vel subdiacono, et alias duas pro pueris thuribulariis (*Statuta Col. S. Marie de Otery. Oliver's Mon. Dioc. Exon.* p. 271). Our choristers here in England were often provided with albs. That such was the usage at the king's chapel at Windsor Castle, we know from the inventory of its vestments, etc. taken A.D. 1358, in which are put down: Sexdecim albæ pro choristis, cum duodecim amictibus. These albs for the singers seem never to have had sewed on them any apparel, for the above sixteen are enumerated among the albæ et amictus sine paruris.—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1366.

Among the things that "longith (A.D. 1473) unto oure Lady chirche Sandewiche", were: ij awbys for children (*Boys's Sandwich*, p. 375); and in the regulations for the family of the Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VIII, we find: It is Ordynyde by my Lorde and his Counseill that—Four Albes for Children for bering of Candilstiks and Censoures, to be weshid xij tymes in the yere, etc.—*The Northumberland Household Book*, p. 243.

These albs worn by the boys who served at high Mass, were, like the priest's, the deacon's and sub-deacon's, orna-

tion of the office, still for every one employed about the altar, no matter at what distance from it, and though even he were not more than an acolyte, the alb was the allotted garment: if we may so say, the surplice was the choral, the alb the sacrificial ministering robe. Such a principle was nothing new; it existed in this country as well as everywhere else, when St. Osmund and the Normans came over here. Thus then upon this, as well as upon every other point not merely of belief but of ritual, there was a perfect agreement between the Anglo-Saxons and their successors the Normans, so that from the earliest times, up to the better half of the sixteenth century, the alb was always worn, at the more solemn services,[38] by

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mented with apparels. In the churchwardens' accompts of St. Mary's, Sandwich, there is an entry "for y^e^ makyng of y^e^ paruris of y^e^ childryn awbys, and for y^e^ settyng on yeroff vij *d.*—for iij quarters of a zerd of rede bokeram for the same paruris" (*Boys, Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 364). Three albys for children and 6 ameses with parells, and 3 albys and amesis without parells.—*Illustrations*, etc. p. 115.

[38] At no time might any clerk minister about the altar unless he had on at least a surplice, for it was enacted that: Nullus clericus permittatur ministare in officio altaris, nisi indutus sit superpellicio (*Constitutiones Walteri Raynold, Cantuar. Archiep.* A.D. 1322, apud Wilkins, *Concil. Magn. Brit.* vol. ii, p. 513). On week days, then, or at low Mass, it is likely that the clerk who waited on the priest wore not an alb, but surplice. In a grand procession made to

every one about the altar—even by the acolytes. Such a venerable liturgical custom is still kept up in many places in France and Belgium.

The shape of our old English surplice is admirably shown on many of our sepulchral monuments, the brasses especially.[39] Reaching well nigh to the

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welcome Richard II, when he came back to London, A.D. 1392, there walked more than five hundred boys clad in surplices, along with the bishop and the clergy: Fertur in illa processione plusquam quingentos pueros in superpelliciis extitisse; as we are told by Knyghton.—*Twysden*, t. ii, p. 2740.

[39] The wood-cuts to be found further on in illustration of the furred amys—one of William Canynge, the other of the acolyte waiting on the priest blessing the holy water—besides another in *Hierurgia* (t. ii, p. 658), from the beautiful codex, marked 2 B. VII, in the British Museum, will show what was the flowing graceful shape of our old English surplice; which, as may be seen by the accompanying wood-cut, did not yield in fulness and majesty, to

feet, it was very full, and had large broad sleeves widening as they outstretched themselves all down the arms to the hands, from which they hung drooping in masses of beautiful folds. With a round hole at top, large enough to let the head go through with ease, it had no kind of opening in front, not even a short slit above the breast, thus needing neither tie nor button to fasten it at the neck. Immediately it was thrown on the shoulders, it fitted itself in becoming drapery about the wearer's person, so that this garment became one of the most graceful and majestic of those employed in the sacred ministry.[40]

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the garment of the same kind worn in Italy at the beginning of sixteenth century.

[40] At first the surplice in this country reached quite down to the feet, as may be seen in those worn under their copes by the two singers, shown in the wood-cut, given later, from a Psalter written and beautifully illuminated in England in the thirteenth century, which I possess. Abroad, too, it was made equally long, as we learn from Stephen of Orleans, Bishop of Tornay, A.D. 1192, who, speaking of it, says: Superpelliceum novum, candidum, talare.—*Ep.* 123.

The sleeve of the old English surplice was so full and long, that the clergy could muffle their hands within its ample folds, and thus hinder the service-books which they held from being soiled by the heat of their fingers. Bishop Grandison says: Mandamus quod clerici tenendo libros, quantum possunt, manicas superpellicii inter librum et manum interponant (*Statuta Coll. S. Marie de Otery, Oliver's Mon. Dioc. Exon.* p. 270). An "Ordo Missæ Pontifi-

That this fine old English surplice, for whomsoever it happened to be made—for the rector of the

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calis", printed by Georgi from a Vatican manuscript of the fourteenth century, gives a like rubric: Unus acolitorum recipiens ampullas parvas, quas cooperire debet cum manicis superpellicei sui, etc.—*Liturgia Rom. Pontif.* t. iii, p. 577.

The reader may easily imagine the great fulness of the old English surplice, when among other pious bequests dame Elizabeth Andrews, A.D. 1474, says: "I will, that Stoke church shall have a surplice made of a piece of linen cloth containing twenty-six yards" (*Nicholas's Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. i, p. 329); "to the church of Weston, twenty yards of linen cloth to make a surplice."—*Ib.* p. 330.

Even now, if the surplice be made according to the dimensions laid down by Gavanti, who, however, merely copies, word for word, the directions of St. Charles Borromeo for this garment, it ought to be seven yards wide, by no means slit open in front on the breast, and fall down below the knees half way on the legs; it should have sleeves reaching to the fingers' ends, and more than two yards in width.—*De Mensuris propriis sacræ supellectilis*, etc. *Thes. Sac. Rit.* t. i, p. 553.

In the north of Italy and other places, the surplice for minor clerks was often made quite round, without having any sleeves, but only a circular opening in the middle to let the head go through, and was worn gathered up over the arms like a full old chasuble, which it was exactly like in shape, as may be seen from the wood-cuts in the *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, Venetiis, 1564, at pp. 17, 63, b., 105, b., 183, b. The learned Italian prelate Sarnelli tells us, that when he was a young clerk, and served the church of the "Incoronata" at Naples,

church or his poorest clerk—was always of the same proportionate size and shape, there is no

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he used to wear one of these old chasuble-shaped surplices: Nè solamente la Pianeta era della detta forma, ma le cotte chericali eziandio benchè più corte, le quali non avean maniche, e si cacciavan le braccia con alzare i lembi laterali, e questo, dice il Ferrari ho io osservato in Padova: ed io soggiungo, che anche oggi in Venezia si costuma cosi, ed io medesimo essendo cherico nella chiesa dell' Incoronata di Napoli, le usai simiglianti (*Lettere Ecclesiastiche*, t. ii, p. 64). This is a work which, though so full of ritual and ecclesiastical learning, is entirely unknown in England. It does not seem that the surplice cut after such a fashion was ever used in this country. Can the above round shape of the surplice be a memorial of the chasuble which, in olden times, even the acolytes wore?

That acolytes in the early ages of the Church were vested in chasubles, is shown by some of the oldest liturgical documents. The earliest of the sixteen Roman Ordoes published by Mabillon (t. ii, *Mus. Ital.*) directs: Parat evangelium qui lecturus est, reserato sigillo ex præcepto archidiaconi super planetam acolythi (*Ordo Romanus* 1; *ib.* p. 6). Again, in Ordo v, in the chapter on the various vestments of those who officiate, such as were assigned to acolytes are thus enumerated: Acolythi cam. (camisia) et cing. (cingulum) sestace in sinistra latera ad cing. pendens, tonica alba, et orarium ad collum, et planeta; et quando in gradu psallitur, planeta abstollitur, et orarium portat in manu (*Ib.* p. 65). Moreover, it is expressly said that, at his ordination, the acolyte was to be clothed in the chasuble: *Quomodo in sancta Romana ecclesia acolythi ordinentur.* Dum Missa celebrata fuerit, induunt clericum illum plane-

room for doubting: not so, however, with regard to the material and the ornamental accessories bestowed upon it. To the higher clergy were allotted surplices of the finest linen, often of the kinds now known as lawn and cambric;[41] and judg-

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tam et orarium (*Ib.* p. 85). But as well as acolytes, all those who sang in the ambo or pulpit, and those who were in the choir, were so arrayed: Reliqui vero inferiores gradus ecclesiæ, qui in gradu psallunt, sicut et acolythi. Illi vero qui in ambone non psallunt, si habuerint, similiter induantur (*Ib.* p. 65). Indeed, Amalarius says: Casula pertinet generaliter ad omnes clericos (*De Eccles. Offic.* lib. ii, cap. 19). For the "ambo," see wood-cut and text, t. i, p. 216.

[41] A.D. 1534. Paid for a surpless for the curate 10*s.* 0*d.*
... ... for the clerk. 3 0
... ... for the sexton 3 0
—*Illustrations* etc. *from the Accompts of Churchwardens*, p. 10.

Nine ells of Hollande clothe for a surplyse and rochet. For 6 ells of Normandy clothe for the clark's surplice (*Ib.* pp. 100, 102). The difference noticed above between the price of a surplice for the curate and those for the clerk and sexton, arose not from the quantity but the quality of the linen employed for the one and the other; for like those mentioned after, the priest's surplice may have been made of the best linen then known—Holland—the clerk's of coarser and cheaper Normandy.

In the same highly valuable work, we find other curious entries:

Eight surplyces for the quere, of the which two have no slevys.

ing from works of art still remaining, the part of that garment going about the throat was curiously and elegantly wrought with needlework, done sometimes in scarlet, but more frequently in dark blue thread.[42]

Three rochets for children.—p. 115.

A fyne ryben surplis in a lynnyn bag.—p. 116.

Playne surplices for men aftir chappell gyse.

Reveld surplices for men.—p. 117.

These two surplices without sleeves may have been for the "rulers of the choir" to wear under their silk copes. The "playne surplices" only show that others in general were ornamented. The "fyne ryben" one, kept with such care in its own "lynnyn bag", must have been of some costly material, for it was given as a token of loving respect by the parish to the parish priest.—*Ibid.*

In connexion with this linen vesture, there was a curious usage. The statutes which Bishop Grandison drew up in the fourteenth century for the collegiate church of his endowment, Ottery St. Mary's, Devon, show that at the time a custom was in some places in England for the clergy of a church not only to dine together on one of the great holidays, but to sit down to table each in his surplice: Statuimus quod omni anno die Assumpcionis gloriose Virginis totum collegium in claustro si habeatur, vel in aliqua domo magis competenti simul comedant et in signum candide virginitatis paradisi care columbe, superpelliciis in prandiis utantur sine quibus nullus penitus nisi religiosus ibidem comedere permittatur (*Statuta Coll. S. Marie de Otery;* in Dr. Oliver's *Mon. Dioc. Exon.* p. 271). Bishop Grandison, the founder, gave these statutes, A.D. 1339.

[42] Ornamental needlework round the neck of the surplice

By the Roman Missal it is ordered that, before he vests himself for Mass, the secular priest should put on a surplice if it can be conveniently had,[43] and then robe himself with the amice, the alb, and the other vestments. The very earliest traces of such a rubric can be found among the Anglo-Saxons, for a canon enacted under king Edgar, A.D. 967, says: "we enjoin, that every priest have a corporal when he celebrates Mass, and a 'subucula' under his alb, and all his mass-vestments worthily appointed."[44] This Anglo-Saxon "subucula" was, no doubt, shorter and tighter than the alb, and made of linen—in shape, perhaps, not much unlike a modern sleeved rochet as it is made for our prelates, and especially for so many congregations of canons regular.[45] But again,

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is shown on the figure of Thomas Leman, rector of South Acre, Norfolk, A.D. 1534, given by Cotman in his Brasses; as also upon those worn by the canons who are sitting in their stalls, figured in the frontispiece to the present volume of this work, from a manuscript in the British Museum of a book of Hours which once belonged to, and most likely was expressly done for, our Richard II. The colour of the needlework in this illumination is red.

[43] Induit se . . . sacerdos sæcularis, super superpelliceum, si commode haberi possit, etc.—*De Præp. Sacerd. celebraturi.*

[44] See note 98, t. i, p. 460, for the "Subucula."

[45] Besides Bonanni's fine work the *Catalogo degli Ordini Religiosi*, the curious reader should look into the earlier

THE ROCHET

is only a modification of the surplice, as the surplice is of the alb. In some places, like the short fine linen tunic called by the same appellation, and so often employed by bishops, the rochet, instead of those wide hanging sleeves of the surplice, had narrow ones; in other places, it was formed without any sleeves at all, having slits at the sides to put the arms through. Of this last kind seems to have been the garment spoken of by our English ecclesiastical ordinances, for the use of parochial churches, and the less dignified among the clergy.[46]

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one, from which the industrious Jesuit borrowed so much, by Molinet, *Figures des Differents Habits des Chanoines Reguliers*, where the rochet is well shown.

[46] In the notes, still kept in the library at Salisbury cathedral, of the visitations which William, Dean of Salisbury performed, c. A.D. 1220, probably from being also Archdeacon of Berks, mention is made of the rochet. At one church he noticed: Unum superpellicium sufficiens—unum rochettum; and of that of Horningham, he remarks: Non est ibi superpellicium nec rochettum.

The visitation of St. Paul's, London, A.D. 1295, takes accompt of the rochets belonging to some of the chapels.—*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, new ed. pp. 331, 333, 334.

By a constitution of Archbishop Winchelsey's, sent out A.D. 1305, among other things that the parishioners were to find their church in, were: Tria superpellicia et unum rochetum (*Lyndwood, Provinciale*, p. 252). In his gloss upon the text, this learned English canonist tells us that

This did not hinder the rochet, properly so called, from being looked upon as a garment especially belonging to the episcopal vesture; for while but a priest, our countryman, Richard de Bury, who afterwards filled the see of Durham so worthily, had given him by the hands of the Roman Pontiff a rochet, for a pledge that the holy See would name him to the very first bishopric which might become vacant in England.[46a]

SECTION II.

The next clerical garment which asks our notice, is the one now commonly known as

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the difference between these two linen garments was, that the surplice had, the rochet had not, sleeves: Rochetum—differt a superpellicio quia superpellicium habet manicas pendulas, sed rochetum est sine manicis, et ordinatur pro clerico ministraturo sacerdoti, vel forsan ad opus ipsius sacerdotis in baptizando pueros ne per manicas ipsius brachia impediantur.—*Ibid.* in nota *n*.

From our note 41, it is clear that the boys employed in the Church-services wore rochets sometimes.

[46a] Bis adiit (Richardus de Bury) summum pontificem Johannem—et recepit ab eo rochetam in loco bullæ, pro proximo episcopatu vacante ex post in Anglia (*Williel. de Chambre, Continuatio Hist. Dunelmensis*, published by the Surtees Society, London, 1839, p. 127). Among the relics of St. Paul's, London, A.D. 1295, was: Rochetum S. Edmundi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.—*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 339.

THE CASSOCK,

but in ancient times called "pellicea," or

THE PELISSE,

which latter name was given to it, not because of any difference of form, but on account of its being lined with fur, according to a usage which prevailed amid all ranks, both of men and women, in those days of yore.

From the ecclesiastical monuments of art that have been left us in this country, it would seem the old English cassock differed in its shape but very little, if anything, from the same kind of robe still worn by the Catholic priesthood. Varieties it had, but they were unimportant: at some periods we find it made to button all down the front; at others, it must have been kept close by being tied about the waist by a belt or girdle.

For the great body of the clergy its colour no doubt was black; in illuminated manuscripts, however, and on sepulchral effigies, many examples occur which show it to have been sometimes of other hues: doctors of divinity, for instance, are usually represented in a scarlet-dyed cassock,[47] and

[47] In the west window of Cirencester abbey church may be seen a doctor of divinity figured in a scarlet cassock under his surplice; and in St. Martin's church, Birmingham, lies the effigy of a doctor of divinity clothed in his

acolytes are to be seen with theirs sometimes of a purple, sometimes of a crimson tint.[48]

Beginning at an early period and lasting many ages, the custom was, both here and in the other northern parts of Christendom, for all clergymen, whether secular, or of a religious order, to have the gown we now call a cassock, lined, like the garments of the laity, throughout with furs, in

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furred amys, surplice, and cassock, upon which the few spots of colour still remaining show that this garment was once painted scarlet.

At the feast after high Mass, when Bishop Alcock was translated (A.D. 1476) from Rochester to Worcester, "ther came in oon like a doctour clothyd in scarlet," etc. (MS. C. C. C. Oxford, quoted by Green, *Append.* p. xxxv, *Hist. of Worcester*, t. ii). According to Piazza, in his very curious work *L' Iride Sagra*, p. 198, Pope Benedict XII granted the use of scarlet to the university of Paris for doctors in theology, and canon law. Very likely the same Pontiff gave, or confirmed, the same privilege to Oxford.

[48] In one of the Cotton manuscripts, Tiberius, B. viii, the minor clerks are figured some in purple, some in scarlet cassocks, but all wearing surplices of a texture so thin as to let the colour of the garment beneath them be clearly seen. The boy who ministers to the priest blessing the holy water, figured in the Buckland Missal described just now (note 64, p. 421, vol. i), is clad in a scarlet cassock, and wears, hanging all round his shoulders, a scarlet hood over his surplice. Another instance of scarlet cassocks is noted later.

Latin, *pelles:* hence this vesture got its name, "pellicea" or pelisse.[49] A line was drawn, how-

[49] By the rule which our countryman, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, drew up, c. A.D. 1139, for the religious order which he founded, it is directed that each canon of the brotherhood should have, besides other garments: Una pellicea de adultis agnis (*Regula*, etc. iii, *De Vestibus, Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* vol. vii, p. *xliv); and in another part of the same rule, the saint enjoins that: Fratres pelliparii congruo tempore—habeant unde pellicæ et pennæ sanctimonalibus et sororibus, canonicis et fratribus fiant de optimis agninis pellibus (*Ib.* p. *xli). From Matthew Paris we learn that the old pelisses or fur-lined cassocks, of the monks at St. Alban's, were bestowed in charity on poor women every year.—*Vitæ S. Albani Abbat.* p. 63.

This sheep-skin fur for clerks' use in England is accidentally noticed in Reginald's description of the dress in which St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was martyred but a year only before that monk wrote, appeared clad in a vision to a young knight: Nocte forte soporatus, gloriosum Christi martyrem S. Thomam Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem—agnovit. Erat . . . pallio nigro pellibus agninis candentibus obsito indutus, pilleolo capitis vertice perornatus (*Reginaldi Dunelmensis, Libel. de Admir. S. Cuthberti*, p. 256). An interesting notice of the clerical cassock, as the clergy at Cologne about the beginning of the twelfth century had it made, is preserved to us by a writer of that period, in his Life of St. Norbert, of whom we learn that, at presenting himself for ordination, he laid aside his secular ermine-lined robe for the cassock furred with lowly sheep-skin: Cum ei sacrista vestes offerret benedictas, quas ut ceteri ad ordines suscipiendos indueret; ille—convertit manum ap

ever, between the world and the sanctuary: as plain but well-dressed sheep-skins were thought quite good enough for such a purpose, to the great bulk of religious people, it was always strongly forbidden by the canons to employ the more costly

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unum de famulis suis qui erant ibidem juxta eum, et innuit sibi præsentari pelliceum agninum quod ad hujusmodi opus de industria jusserat præparari. Quo accepto exuit *varium*, et multiformem diabolum indumentum scilicet miræ æstimationis pretio—comparatum—et induit uniformem et simplicem Christum, vestem videlicet hominibus hujus seculi et maxime illius regionis apud nobiles prorsus insolitam, vilissimi pretii et nullius fere momenti, etc. (*Vita S. Norberti*, apud *AA. SS. Junii*, t. i, p. 823). The "varium" of the text was the *vair* or rich fur so much used by the nobility of that time.

By the ecclesiastical canons enacted during the thirteenth century we know that abroad the secular clergy were required always to come to church in a pelisse which was to reach down to the heels: Ne canonici ecclesiarum in solennitatibus et stationibus sine chorali pelliceo vel veste canonicali sub superpelliceo incedant in ecclesiis conventualibus et choro. *Concil. Coloniensis canon* ix, c. A.D. 1260: Indumenta clericorum maxime cappas et superpellicia et pellicias decernimus tantum esse talaria.—*Statuta ex MS. Alnensis Monas.* circa A.D. 1200, apud Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* t. iv, p. 1191.

A.D. 1138, it was decreed by the council of Westminster that nuns should not wear costly furs: Prohibemus sanctimoniales variis seu grisiis, sabellinis, marterinis, hereminis, beverinis pellibus et annulis aureis uti.—*Concil. Magnæ Brit.* ed. Wilkins, vol. i, p. 415.

furs for this or any other use about their person, and the only individuals exempted from such a rule were the several dignitaries of the Church.[50]

The Anglo-Saxon must have been, in every respect, just like the fur-lined cassock of the English churchman.

SECTION III.

After the cassock, we come to

THE COPE,

which, though perhaps unknown to St. Beda and Archbishop Ecgberht, was certainly looked upon as a sacred vestment, and worn by the later Anglo-Saxon churchmen. Indeed, one of the earliest drawings we know of this garment, is shown us by an Anglo-Saxon pontifical,[51] in an illumination of

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[50] Matthew Paris carefully notices that the choir cope of the Legate, who, in opening the council of London, A.D. 1237, at St. Paul's, put on his vestments in the church, was lined with "vair": Se induit superpelliceo et desuper capa chorali pellibus variis furrata, etc.—*Hist.* p. 302.

[51] The Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, now in the public library at Rouen, but formerly belonging to the monastery of Jumieges. Speaking of this precious manuscript in his invaluable work—*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*—which ought always to be among the books of every ecclesiastic, as well as antiquary, Martene, writing A.D. 1702, says: Pontificale Anglicanum eiusdem monasterii (Gemmeticen-

which, the bishop, who is going through the ceremonies for dedicating a church, is figured vested in an alb, stole, maniple, and cope, as the reader will see by the accompanying wood-cut of it. But the use of such a robe was not confined, in this country, to bishops; for whatever may have been the custom, upon this head, abroad, here at least in the reign of the Confessor, copes were allowed to be worn by the chanters, or, as they

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sis) annorum circiter 900 (*Ib.* t. i, p. xxi), and thus makes it a codex of the early part of the ninth century. This illumination is given in "The Anglo-Saxon Ceremonial for the Dedication of Churches."—*Archæologia*, vol. xxv, p. 17.

Vested in alb, stole, and cope, the abbot of an Anglo-Saxon monastery blessed the wax-tapers to be carried by his monks on candle-mass day: Omnes albis induti—Deinde abbas stola et cappa indutus benedicat candelas.—*Regularis Concordia S. Dunstani*, apud Reynerum, *Append.* p. 85.

The more general custom in England, especially for bishops and dignitaries of the Church, was to wear under

were at a later period called, the "rulers of the choir," for Leofric bequeathed three copes for this specific purpose to his church of Exeter;[52] and they were, along with the other costly and beautiful garments for the divine service, provided with so much care by one of the most distinguished saints of this or any other land—the Anglo-Saxon Margaret, queen of Scotland.[53]

Like the same kind of vestment in other countries,[54] the Anglo-Saxon cope was made of silk

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the cope an alb with a stole fastened cross-wise upon the breast, as we may see by the figures in pl. xxxvii of "The Painted Chamber, Westminster," edited by the late J. Gage Rokewode, Esq., my estimable and learned friend. This is also shown by the carving in oak of Bishop Barnek. Bishops now never cross their stoles.

[52] . iii . cantercæppa and . iii . canterstafas.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Saxonum*, t. iv, p. 275.

[53] His rebus, id est quæ ad divinæ servitutis cultum pertinebat, nunquam vacua erat illius camera; quæ, ut ita dicam, quædam cælestis artificii videbatur esse officina. Ibi cappæ cantorum, casulæ, stolæ, altaris pallia, alia quoque vestimenta sacerdotalia et ecclesiæ semper videbantur ornamenta.—*Vita S. Margaritæ, AA. SS.* t. ii, *Junii.* p. 329, *n.* 7.

[54] With other beautiful vestments given to the church of his monastery by the abbot St. Ansigisus, A.D. 820, were: Cappas Romanas duas, unam videlicet ex rubeo cindato et fimbriis viridibus in circuitu ornatam, alteram ex cane pontico, quem vulgus Bevurum nuncupat, similiter fimbriis sui coloris decoratam in orbe (*Chron. Fontanellense*

varying in colour with the festival and season; and we may be sure that it was highly adorned with gold and embroidered imagery:[55a] a deep fringe, which sometimes was formed of little tinkling bells made of gold,[55b] ran all around it below;

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ab auct. coævo apud D'Achery, *Spicilegii*, t. ii, p. 280, Parisiis, 1723). The cope, "ex cane pontico," commonly then called beaver skin, must have been made of ermine, which, for many ages later than St. Ansigisus's time, was thought to be the skin of the Pontic mouse. Among the rich vestments in the treasury of St. Riquier's church, A.D. 831, were: Cappa castanea auro parata I, serica I (*Chron. Centulens. ib.* p. 310); and in his will, Bishop Riculph mentions, A.D. 915: Capas duas, una purpurea, et alia bition.—*Append. ad Reginonem Prumien.* p. 627, ed. Baluzio.

[55a] Besides a large quantity of other rich Anglo-Saxon vestments, submitted to the pilfering fingers of William I, at Ely, were: xxxiiii cappas, quatuor earum cum aurifriso, alia sine aurifriso; iiii taissellos ad opus capparum (*MS. Cotton, Titus*, A. i, fol. 24, b). One of the copes given to the same minster by St. Æthelwold, is said to have been of singular beauty: Contulit etiam ecclesiæ nonnulla ornamenta capas videlicet plures, sed unam insignis operis (*Thomæ Elien. Hist. Eliensis in Anglia Sacra*, t. i, p. 604). Dedit (abbas Egelricus) et choro viginti et quatuor cappas, scilicet sex albas, sex rubeas, sex virides, et sex nigras (versus A.D. 984).—*Hist. Ingulphi*, ed. Gale, *inter Rer. Anglic. Scriptores*, t. i, p. 53.

[55b] Our first William sent St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, a most splendid cope, the fringe to which consisted of these very ornaments: Misit rex (Willelmus Anglorum prin-

a morse or clasp, which seems to have been sometimes studded with jewels, kept its sides in front fastened across the breast; while, behind, it had sewed to it a wide hood,[56] so made as to be drawn up with ease when the head needed protection from the weather.[57]

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ceps) domino abbati et sacro conventui cappam pene auream totam . . . inferius autem undique tintinnabula resonantia ipsaque aurea pendent (*Vita S. Hugonis Ab. Cluniac. AA. SS. Aprilis*, t. iii, p. 661). From all that we know of the Norman king, there can be no doubt that this gorgeous cope was filched from some Anglo-Saxon church. Conrad, prior of Christ-church, Canterbury, A.D. 1108, bestowed upon that cathedral; Cappam pretiosissimam undique exterius auro purissimo intextam, inferius et per circuitum CXL nolas argenteas sed deauratas habentem, nonnullis lapidibus pretiosissimis interpositis, fieri fecit, pro cujus expensione centum libras distribuit.—*Hist. Prior. Eccl. Cantuar.* ed. Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* t. i, p. 137.

[56] The fringe and the square jewelled morse are seen in the wood-cut above, from the illumination of the Anglo-Saxon Pontifical now at Rouen, and figured by Mr. Gage, *Archæologia*, vol. XXV, p. 17. The hood hanging upon the bishop's shoulders, is also well marked there.

[57] At the end of last century, all over the continent, might be found old copes with sharply-pointed hoods of a bag-like form, as if made to be drawn up and worn about the head. Of this sort were those two red ones still used, in De Moléon's time, at Rouen cathedral: Il y a encore deux anciennes chappes rouges qui ont des chaperons ou capuchons pointus . . . On sçait que ce chaperon ou capuchon se mettoit sur la tête.—*Voy. Liturg.* p. 379.

But in the latter days of the Anglo-Saxon period, this hood, it is likely, underwent no slight change; and if not in all, at least in some churches of this country, was laid aside to have its place filled up by a flat piece of ornamental embroidery, which, hanging loose from the cope, bore the name while it kept up the remembrance of the true old hood: nay more, there are grounds for thinking that this appendage, in its new and altered form, was sometimes of one sheet of thin but solid gold, which being held to the vestment by small chains or fastenings of the same precious metal, could be easily undone and taken off.[58]

Among those who came into power here, after the Anglo-Saxons, the cope continued to be, in shape and material, what it was before; but its hood, if it had not then, at least very soon after the arrival of the Normans, fell, as a covering for the head, quite into disuse, though the place and form of this original appertenance remained well marked by a large flat appendage hung from the shoulders and bearing its name, just as at the present day.

Like the Anglo-Saxon, our English cope was

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[58] His Normans, whom William I sent all about this country to rifle the Anglo-Saxon minsters, found at Ely: iiii taissellos ad opus capparum (*MS. Cotton, Titus*, A. i, fol. 24, b). These "taisselli" filched from the poor monks were, no doubt, movable hoods of beaten gold or silver.

rendered as beautiful as the loom, the goldsmith's craft, precious stones, and the needle of the embroiderer, could make it. Cloths of gold shot with the richest tints of colour, the most costly silks, and velvets of the deepest pile, were sought out for it;[59] these again were wrought all over in the most tasteful and elaborate patterns, with branches spreading out into leaves and flowers, having birds and animals looking forth from amid them, and formed in part, to heighten the effect, of plates of silver, or with filigree work in solid gold;[60] at

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[59] Capam meam de panno ad aurum scilicet baudekin. —*Wills*, etc. *of the Northern Counties*, part i, p. 6, published by the Surtees Society.

Capa facta de baudekinis purpureis cum aquilis aureis extensis cum floribus.

Duæ capæ factæ de baudekino unius operis varii coloris, cum bestiis variis intersertis.

Capa Gileberti de Stratton de panno aureo lineato cum sendato rubeo afforciato.

Capa Johannis Maunsel de panno aureo qui vocatur ciclatoun.—*Visit. in Thes. S. Pauli, Londinensis*, A.D. 1295, apud *Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 318.

[60] Dederat unam capam rubeam cum leonibus laminis argenteis capæ infixis, et morsum ponderantem quatuordecim solidos et quatuor denarios (*Johannes Glastoniensis*, p. 203). Capa domini Edmundi Comitis Cornubiæ de quodam diaspero Antioch. coloris, tegulata cum arboribus et avibus diasperatis quarum capita, pectora, et pedes, et flores in medio arborum sunt de aurifilo contextæ.—*Dugdale's St. Paul's*, p. 318.

other times the whole surface of the cope was overspread with circles, or quatrefoils enclosing embroideries, each a little picture—a work of art in itself—telling some story from holy writ, or out of the saints' legends.[61]

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[61] Capa Lanfranci nigra frectata auro cum bestiis et floribus aureis et 2 tassellis aureis.

Capa ejusdem nigra cum magnis tassellis aureis, etc.

Capa S. Edmundi de morre cum tassellis et gemmis ornata.—*Onam. in Vestiar. Ecc. Christi Cant.* A.D. 1315, apud *Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. v.

Capæ duæ de samicto rubeo cum magnis tassellis aureis, et morsibus cum gemmis.

Sex capæ de samicto rubeo cum tassellis aureis minoribus.

Duæ capæ de samicto rubeo cum parvis tassellis aureis.

Duæ capæ de samicto rubeo sine tassellis, cum lato aurifrigio veteri.—*Ibid.*

The ten splendid copes which were given, A.D. 1322, by Walter, to the church of Glastonbury, are thus carefully remembered by the historian of that venerable house: Walterus dedit decem capas . . . quarum prima preciosior continet historias passionis Christi, cujus campus aureus est et deasperatus; secunda similiter continet easdem historias cum aliis, cujus campus similiter est aureus et deasperatus. Tercia dicta *le velveth* coccinei coloris cum ymaginibus . . . Quinta de samicto rubeo cum apostolis circulata . . . Septima de samicto rubeo continens historias Sanctorum Dunstani, David, et Aldelmi cum scalopis. Octava de samicto tuleo continens historias S. Dunstani, cum leopardis et scalopis, etc. (*Johannes Glaston.* p. 261.) Of such copes so storied the only one in this country is at Alton Towers, and once belonged to the nunnery of Syon House, near

It was, however, more particularly on the hood, the orphreys, and the morse of a cope, that the artist who had its making put forth all the most beautiful of his devices, and the giver of the vestment exhibited his pious magnificence.

Very often the same cope had belonging to it, not merely one, but several hoods, all of which could be put off[62] and on with the greatest ease,

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London, but now in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury: it will be minutely described at the end of this chapter. Of Durham cathedral we are told that the monks walked "in procession with all the rich copes belonging to the church, every monk one. The prior had an exceedingly rich one of cloth of gold, which was so massy that he could not go upright with it, unless his gentlemen, who at other times bore up his train, supported it on every side whenever he had it on.—*The Antiquities of the Abbey of Durham, etc.* p. 85.

It would seem that the English custom was, in making copes for the use of churches belonging to the Knights Templars, to put upon such vestments some badge indicative of that warlike order; for among the copes of St. Paul's, London, A.D. 1295, one so wrought is especially noticed: Capa facta de baudekino ad modum Templi cum militibus equitantibus infra, cum avibus super manus, quam dedit Henricus de Sandwyco Episcopus.—*Dugdale's St. Paul's*, p. 318.

[62] The hood of the above-mentioned Syon House cope was movable, and is now lost; but the three golden loops by which it hung are still to be seen just below the orphrey behind.

so that at a high festival the one figured with the subject of the day might be worn; at times indeed, these so-called hoods were neither embroidered, nor even of silk or velvet, but formed, as it would appear from ancient records, of sheet gold, beaten out into some elegant design, and enchased with precious stones.[63]

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[63] In the annals of Rochester cathedral, one of those gorgeous hoods made of silver-gilt and encrusted with gems, is especially noticed among the good works of Helyas, the prior of that church: In capa Gileberti episcopi fecit fieri morsum de argento et capettum deauratum et preciosis lapidibus ornatum (*Registrum Roffense*, by J. Thorpe, p. 122). Archbishop Lanfranc's "capa—cum 2 tassellis aureis," was, to my thinking, a cope enriched with two such movable hoods of pure beaten gold. Of the like precious metal were the hoods belonging to some of those other magnificent copes enumerated in the same note 61, just now, p. 30.

But the word *tassellus*, so often found there, had, with our old native ecclesiastical writers, more than one meaning; though, as it should be carefully borne in mind, it was never employed by them to signify the ornament which we now call in English "tassel." *Tassellus* was used several ways, to express one ornament or another affixed upon dress, though it became generally limited to the vestments and adornments of the ministers of religion, upon almost every article of whose sacred attire it may be discovered to have been a decorative part. Thus we find *tassellus* in our ancient records to mean:

1. The large thin sheet of gold or silver hanging behind on the cope, as shown by the authorities above.

2. Any piece of gold or silver plate fastened to a vest-

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With regard to the form of this hood, if we may guess by the few early pictorial representations remaining of it in illuminated manuscripts, it must

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ment; for not only copes, but chasubles, too, had their *tasselli* sparkling with gems, hung all about them.

Dedit (Richardus abbas S. Albani) etiam casulam unam, auro, tassellis ac gemmis pretiosis adornatam. Stolas binas pretiosas cum manipulo, capam unam purpuream, morsu et tassellis carissimis redimitam.—*Matt. Paris in Vitis Abb. S. Albani*, p. 35.

3. The morse was carefully distinguished from the *tassellus*, as is shown by the extract just given from Matth. Paris.

4. The ornaments on the back of episcopal gloves, when not done in embroidery, but made of silver or gold plate, are likewise called tasselli:

Cirotecæ.

Par unum cum tassellis argenteis et parvis lapidibus.

Par unum de lino cum tassellis argenteis et perulis.—*Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. xiii.

5. Again, although the hood behind on a cope was called the *tassellus*, yet, whenever square or round plates of gold or silver, having on them pearls or jewels, were sewed by way of orphrey down in front of the cope, or on any other part of its border, as was often the fashion, to give it additional radiance, such plates were called *tasselli:*

Fecit vij cappas, quarum una auro et lapidibus obducta est tota. Alia vero pretiosis tassellis, auro et margaritis anterius et in circuitu parabatur. Aliæ quatuor, optimo aurifrigio, septima purpurea tassellis decenter adornatur.—*Vita Gaufridi*, A.D. 1119, apud *Matt. Paris, in Vitis Abb.* p. 40.

have been, among the Anglo-Saxons, of a straight-sided, three-cornered shape, ending in a sharp

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Capa Radulphi Herefordiensis episcopi de rubeo samicto cum tassellis et amauz in medio (*Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. v). The "amauz" were amethysts.

Hence it came that any piece of ornament, whether merely of simple cloth of gold, or of beautiful and elaborate embroidery, when it happened to be a different work from the vestment itself, and was affixed to it, whatever that vestment might be—cope, chasuble, dalmatic, or tunicle, it mattered not—the ornament was called *tassellus:* Fecit (Ernulfus eccl. Roffensis Ep.) duas casulas, scil. nigram cum tassello super humeros de auro bruslatam, et aliam de viridi samith.—*Regist. Roffense*, ed. Thorpe, p. 120.

Capa Adæ Prioris de viridi samicto cum tassellis rubeo brudatis. Duæ capæ de croceo samicto cum rubeis tassellis brudatæ. Capa una de croceo panno diasperata, cum tassellis de viridi. Capa professionis Thomæ Eboracensis archiepiscopi de rubeo panno diasperato cum tassellis nigris rotundis brudata.—*Ornam. in Vest. Eccl. Christi Cantuar.* A.D. 1315, apud *Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. v.

Par unum (Tunic. et Dalmatic.) J. de Bocton de croceo samicto, cum tassellis de baudikino ante et retro.—*Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. vii.

Tunicæ et Dalmaticæ.

Par unum de panno de Tharse coloris de painaz, cum stellis et crescentiis aureis, cum tassellis in dorso de martyrio S. Stephani brudatum super dalmaticam, et martyrium S. Thomæ brudatum super tunicam.

Par unum S. Edmundi de samicto de morre, cum tassellis ante et retro consutis.—*Ib.* pp. v, vi.

point: afterwards, it took, as we well know, a somewhat altered figure, keeping the triangle, but with circular instead of right lines on two of its sides, and having its downward point much blunted, like indeed the inverted head of a gothic window. This shape the hood on our copes ever retained till the latest days of Catholicism in England,[64] and at no time was it ever the custom of making it here as now—semicircular.

The orphreys were two bands, some eight inches in breadth, of another material than the cope itself, and reaching all down from the neck on both sides in front, as the vestment shows itself on the

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[64] The beautiful English cope made of purple velvet, and profusely embroidered, of about the end of the fifteenth century, which belongs to Sir Robert Throckmorton, Bart., and is now lying outspread before me, has its hood, which is sewed all round quite close to the body of the vestment, cut to the shape described above in the text. Such, too, is the form of hood shown by the wood-cuts in the rare edition of the Salisbury Processional, printed under the editorship of the then Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 1528.

Unaware of this, beside a deal else belonging to the subject, some among those who, with a most praiseworthy zeal, but not the most thorough good taste, have lately striven with ourselves to bring back the old English Catholic form to our vestments, in giving designs for copes, have directed the hood to be shaped in the modern semicircular, instead of the old pointed way. Let us hope that those who have the making of a cope hereafter will avoid this oversight and wide departure from antiquity.

wearer's person. These orphreys were variously made: sometimes they consisted of rich but simple cloth of gold, or of silk; at others, an appropriate design of flowers, branches, or quatrefoils ran all through them, glittering with precious stones, pearls, and the finest enamels[65]—tabernacle standing over tabernacle, each holding a saint exquisitely embroidered—a row of shields, every one blazoned with heraldic bearings in their proper colours,[66] or one unbroken string, formed by thin plates of solid gold studded with jewels, like some of the golden hoods, went about the sides of this vestment; while all around at bottom, instead of fringe or any other trimming, there hung a great number of little gold or silver bells.[67]

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[65] Capa de indico velvetto cum aurifrigio de rubeo velvetto cum platis et perlis desuper positis.— *Visit. in Thes. S. Pauli Londinensis*, A.D. 1295, apud *Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, new ed. p. 318.

[66] The orphreys of the Syon monastery cope are heraldic.

[67] Capa Lanfranci nigra ornata gemmis et auro, cum 51 campanellis rotundis argenteis deauratis, cum magno topazio et quatuor amauz in pectore.

Another cope of the same kind is set down in the list of *Ornamenta in Vestiar. Ecc. Christi Cantuar.* A.D. 1315, *in Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. v.

Ernulfus, Bishop of Rochester, A.D. 1115: Fieri fecit—capam principalem cum skillis argenteis.—*Anglia Sacra*, t. i, p. 342.

Conrad, who died, A.D. 1127, prior of Christ-church,

SECTION IV.

To hinder the cope from slipping off, it was fastened over the breast by a kind of clasp, which here in England was familiarly known as

THE MORSE,[68]

which was, in shape, flat or convex; from five to six inches in breadth, either circular, square, or in some one of those many forms of graceful outline to be found in the details of pointed architecture. It was made of gold or of silver, of ivory or copper,

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Canterbury, had already bestowed upon that cathedral the following splendid cope: Cappam pretiosissimam undique exterius auro purissimo intextam, inferius per circuitum 140 holas argenteas set deauratas habentem, nonnullis lapidibus pretiosissimis interpositis fieri fecit; pro cujus expensione centum libras distribuit (*Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. xxvii). This cope must have been most magnificent, for the £100 spent on it in the twelfth century, would then go further than £1000 now. The 140 "holæ" were, I presume, so many cup-shaped bells, a favourite ornament, at the time, as a trimming for a cope. A fine old cope, trimmed all around below with slender silver bells, is still to be seen in the inner sacristy of the great church at Aix-la-Chapelle.

[68] Ipse archiepiscopus (Cantuariensis Bonifacius) capam illam pretiosam, qua subprior indutus erat, dilaceravit et firmaculum, quod vulgariter morsus dicitur, avulsit—quod auro et argento et gemmis fuerat pretiosum.—*Matt. Paris Hist. Anglic.* A.D. 1250, p. 522, col. ii.

or of wood overlaid with one or other of the precious metals: gems, too, and pearls were given for its enrichment. But the workmanship as much as the material lent a value to this appertenance; for all the cunning of the goldsmith's art was exercised upon its design; and though it happened to be at times merely of copper, yet the beautiful enamels with which it glowed, rendered it even then costly.[69]

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[69] Morsus Alardi decani triforiatus de auro puro cum kamahutis et aliis lapidibus multis et perlis sine defectu ponderans xxxii*s.* vi*d.*

Morsus Galfridi de Lucy argenteus exterius deauratus cum limbo triphoriato aureo insertis quatuor magnis lapidibus et aliis minoribus et perlis, et cum ymaginibus Salvatoris coronantis matrem suam, et Petri et Pauli lateralibus et angeli superius et datoris morsus inferius cum duobus bitellis, et continet in circuitu circulum de albis perlis; sed deficiunt lapillus unus et xv noduli cum triphorio, ponderans xl*s.* Cresta ejusdem argentea exterius deauratus, cum exteriori triphorio aurato, et pomello pulchro argenteo deaurato insertis cum triphorio cum lapidibus et perlis majoribus et minoribus—et lista de parvis perlis rupta est ad quantitatem quinque pollicium, ponderans i marc.

Morsus Ricardi de Clifford argenteus exterius deauratus cum limbo et cresta triphoriata de auro insertis lapidibus; et deficiunt tres lapilli ponderans cum brochea argentea appensa xvi*s.* iv*d.*

Morsus—de cupro exterius deauratus cum octo lapidibus et berillo in medio representante Crucifixum: cresta ejusdem de cupro exterius deauratus cum lapillis et perlis affixis.

From every cope having in general its own morse, this ornament must have been made fast on

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Item septem morsus lignei ornati laminis argenteis et lapidibus, et una cresta argentea.—*Visitatio in Thes. S. Pauli Londinensis*, A.D. 1295, apud Dugdale's *Hist. of St. Paul's*, pp. 310, 311, new ed.

Capa de Morre de kocco bis tincto—cum morsu de ebore. —*Dart's Canterbury, App.* p. v.

Though but seldom, yet sometimes the morse was called "pectoral"; and under such a name we find some very rich ones set down in the Winchester inventory:

One pectoral of gold set with stones.

One pectoral partly gold, partly silver and gilt, set with stones.

Six pectorals of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. i, p. 202, new ed.

The name of "ouche," or "noche," was in some few places given to it. In the list of church-ornaments belonging to Worcester priory, A.D. 1540, were:

A noche called Lyttulton's noche of golde and precious stones (pertin. priori et conventui);

the suppr'ior's noche;

the chauntor's noche.—*Green's Hist. of Worcester*, t. ii, *App.* p. v.

The annunciation of our blessed Lady St. Mary was a favourite subject for a morse in old English times, as we find by various documents. In the inventory taken A.D. 1385, of the ornaments belonging to the chapel royal of Windsor, are noted down:

Unus morsus argenteus deauratus et aymellatus in cujus medio salutatio angelica extat, cum armis comitis Warwichiæ.

one side of the vestment, and hitched itself to the other by means of a tongue, or a set of hooks, or by a pin like a brooch.[70]

Unus morsus argenteus deauratus, cum salutatione angelica in tabernaculis pulchriter dispositis, cujus angeli deficit ala sinistra, et de lilio deficit unus flos.—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* new ed. vol. viii, p. 1365.

At New College, Oxford, among what are called the founder's jewels, is a piece of enamel figured with the Annunciation. That it was once the centre part of a morse, seems to me quite clear; though, from its style as a work of art, I think it later than Wykeham's time, and must have been the gift of some other well-wisher to that college.

Unus morsus triangularis argenteus deauratus cujus medium est aymellatum, etc.

Unus morsus nobilis argenteus deauratus lapidibus ornatus circumquaque, in cujus medio est lapis camahu in quo sculpitur imago unius prophetæ, etc. *ib. sicut suprà.*

While we read the foregoing list of English morses, we are struck not so much by the costliness of the materials bestowed in general for their making, as with the variety of detail and elaborate delicacy of execution in which such church-ornaments were wrought. This shows to what a height of perfection our native goldsmiths had reached, proving that our English, like our Anglo-Saxon workmen, went beyond those of other nations in their elegant handicraft.

[70] In the note above, the reader will have noticed that Richard de Clifford's morse had attached to it a silver brooch, cum brochea argentea appensa; which, no doubt, must have been to fasten it to one or other side of the cope.

As an old morse is among the greatest ecclesiastical rarities, perhaps the reader may be glad to see, in this wood-cut, the form of a very good one on enamelled copper, which once belonged to a parish church in Buckinghamshire, and is now in my collection.[70a]

Not always was it that the cope was held fast by a metal morse: sometimes the vestment was confined, as now, by a square piece of the same stuff as the cope, by the help of large hooks and eyes, or with loops and knots made of gold lace.[71] But

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[70a] This morse is a very good specimen of enamel as done at the end of the thirteenth century. The green ground upon which the angel-acolytes stand, is well strewed with daisies, half white, half gold, and at each side, on a field *azure*, is a fleur-de-lis *or*. In French, the daisy is called "La Marguerite," and the heraldry is the blazon of France: can this morse then have been part of the chapel ornaments belonging to the oratory of Margaret of France, Philip the Fair's sister, whom our Edward I married as his second wife? the style of art shown in it, is precisely of that prince's days. After having been used as a morse, this beautiful piece of enamel was mounted on wood, and made to serve for what was called a "pax-brede:" such is its actual shape.

[71] Capa . . . de rubeo sameto cum pectorale optime breudata cum castro et episcopo et diacono.

in our larger churches.[74] From the form of these "triangles," we perceive that the cope before being put by, must, in general, have had its hood taken off, to be laid flat and unbent upon the wider part of the vestment itself, which had been folded in two.[75]

Before leaving the cope, we should remember that the Church, especially in the western parts of Christendom, has, ever since she adopted this robe, looked upon it preeminently as her processional, in the same manner as she has always deemed the chasuble her sacrificial vestment. While offering up the unspotted Sacrifice of the Mass, the priest must ever be clad, together with the rest of his sacred attire, in a chasuble:[76] for processions, as

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[74] In the undercroft or crypt, at Wells cathedral, there is a good early triangle or cope chest, and two finer still are at York Minster; another exists in the vestry at Salisbury cathedral.

[75] Sometimes the hood of the cope was not only sewed to it, but stitched all round and not allowed to hang with the lower part free; in such instances the hood was necessarily left on the cope and folded with it.

[76] A love for what was new not only in belief but ritual, and the strongly felt wish of going against catholic antiquity, must have whispered the use of the cope as a vesture for the priest that shall execute the ministry of the holy communion, "commonly called the Mass," to those men who drew up the rubrics for Edward VI's first Book of Common Prayer, and acting under the lay

well as at every part of the liturgy during the year more immediately connected with them, the rubrics according to the Salisbury Use direct the chief celebrant, at least, to have on a cope;[77] so, too, under the same ritual feeling, in collegiate and

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authority of that boy-king, did away with the old to put in its stead a new form of prayer and national belief.

[77] See the Salisbury Processional *passim*, but more especially the rubric for Christmas-day: In die nativitatis, dum hora prima ante missam canitur sex pueri ad ministrandum vestiti, cappis sericis (*sic pro* "cappas sericas") in chorum deferant: quibus ceteri clerici ad processionem et ad missam donec cantatur *Agnus Dei*, et *Pax Domini* per totum chorum data fuerit, induantur præter sacerdotem et ministros. Quod totiens fiat quotiens in festo duplici, Dominica videlicet, vel aliis festis quando processio fit causa festivitatis. Precedat minister virgam manu gestans locum faciens processioni; deinde aqua benedicta; deinde tres cruces a tribus accolitis deferentibus albis et tunicis, deinde ceroferarii duo albis cum amictibus induti tantum; deinde duo thuribularii in simili habitu. Deinde subdiaconus tunc dyaconus dalmatica et tunica indutus textus singulos deferat. Post dyaconum eat sacerdos in alba et cum cappa serica; chorus itaque sequatur in cappis sericis.—*Processionale ad Usum Eccl. Sarum*, A.D. 1528, fol. viii. St. Osmund himself expressly says, that on all festivals kept with a procession: Tunc omnes cappis utuntur sericis ad processionem et ad missam. (*Cap.* xix, *De Habitu chori per totum annum*). See the third part of this work, p. 13. Such, too, was the practice followed at St. Paul's London: ad missam chorus est in cappis.—*Ibid.* p. 119.

cathedral churches, and the wealthier religious houses, the canons, the monks, and friars, and as many as possible of the elder clergy, were arrayed in silken copes, at the principal services on each Sunday and holyday marked for walking in any kind of solemn procession.[78]

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[78] It must have been a glorious sight, that of any one of our dear old collegiate, or cathedral churches—St. George's, Windsor, for example, or Henry VII's chapel, York, Lincoln, or Westminster—on some high festival, with its choir brimful of priests, and as they walked down those long withdrawing aisles, singing as they went, in majestic strains, psalms to the praises of God, or the joyous and gladdening "Salve festa dies," each having on a gold bright cope, beautiful enough to mantle a king at his coronation. Though so common, such a ceremonial was not the less beloved by our believing forefathers; our poets liked to dwell upon it in their lays, and make their personages talk of its splendour, as the prince does to his forlorn daughter, whom he strives to soothe by telling her among many other things:—

> Than shall ye go to your evensong,
> With tenours and trebles among,
> Threscore of copes of damask bryght
> Full of perles they shalbe pyght.—
> Your sensours shalbe of golde
> Endent with azure manie a folde, etc.

—*The Squire of Low Degree*, Ritson's *Collection of Metrical Romances*, vol. iii.

These "threscore of copes" were as nothing in some of our great English processions.

It must have been a glorious sight to have beheld these

For a like reason was it, moreover, that the "rectores chori," or rulers of the choir, who, on

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jewelled copes as they gleamed with the evening rays of a cloudless summer sun, when a long and gorgeous procession, on its way to meet and welcome a bishop or a prince, wound slowly through the streets of London, or some fine old town, each quaint-looking house of which had hung flaunting from its windows, that beetled far over the path below, beautiful hangings of cloth of gold, velvet and tapestry. As princess Margaret, daughter to our Henry VII, went to Scotland to be married to King James, she was everywhere met on her road by the clergy in solemn procession, according as the rubric of Salisbury prescribed; and her reception by the monks of Durham is thus set down by one who travelled in her numerous equipage. "At the Gatt of the Church was my Lord the Byscop of the sayd Place, and my Lord the Prior revested in Pontificalls, with the Convent all revested of ryches Copps, in Processyon, with the Crossys, etc."—*Leland's Collectanea*, vol. iv, p. 276. When Edward VI rode from the Tower of London to Westminster for his coronation: "On the other side of the streets in many places, stood priests and clerkes with their crosses and censors, and in their best ornaments, to sense the king; and by all the way where the king should pass, on either side, were the windows and waies goodly garnished with cloaths of tapestry, arras, cloath of gold and cloath of silver, with quishions of the same garnished with streamers and banners as richly as might be devised."—*Ibid.* p. 310.

The historian Fox—that true type of what the low and scoffing dissenters of his own day were—speaking, in his mendacious book, of our old catholic processions, par-

account of their office, had to be so often moving to and fro as they led the singing, not only bore

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ticularly notices the number of copes worn on such occasions. Describing the thanksgiving made A.D. 1536, in London, for the recovery of the king of France's health, that Protestant writer says: "The king (Henry VIII) commanded a solemn and famous procession to be ordeined through the city of London, with the waits and children of grammar schooles, with the maisters and ushers in their array: then followed the orders of the friers and chanons and the priours with their pompe of copes, crosses, candlestickes, and vergers before them. After these followed the next pageant of clerkes and priests of London, al in copes likewise. Then the monkes of Westminster and other abbeys, with their glorious gardeviance of crosses, candlestickes, and vergers before them in like sort. Last of al came the queere of Pauls, with their residensaries, the Bishop of London, and the abbots following after in their *Pontificalibus*. After these courses of the clergy, went the companies of the city with the Lord Maior and aldermen in their best apparel, after their degrees. And lest it might be thought this procession of the Church of London to make but a small or beggerly shew, the furniture of the gay copes there worne was counted to the number of 714. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides the singing queeres and chaunting of the priestes, there lacked no minstrels withall, to pipe at the procession" (*Actes and Monuments*, vol. ii, p. 976, col. 2. London, 1596). Writing concerning Queen Mary, of injured memory, the same Fox tells us, A.D. 1555: "Upon the daie of the conversion of saint Paule, there was generall and solemne

richly ornamented staves in their hands, but from the Anglo-Saxon, and all through the English period, were vested, too, in copes, the most beautiful which their churches happened to possess.[79]

When the number of clergy was great and the church wealthy in splendid vestments, a custom existed in some places of England of spreading a wide linen cloth in the middle of the choir floor, and heaping it with a pile of copes to be worn at the divine service.[80] By this method these garments could be easily got at just before the clergy had to walk forth in procession, and as easily put off afterwards.

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procession through London to give God thankes for their conversion to the catholicke church: wherein (to set out their glorious pompe) there were fourscore and ten crosses, 160 priests and clerkes, who had everie one of them copes upon their backs, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 1347, col. 2.

[79] Among the ornaments in Salisbury cathedral, A.D. 1222, were: Baculi viij ad chorum regendum (part iii, p. 106, of this work). Concerning the copes worn by the Anglo-Saxon rulers of the choir, see note 52, before, wherein their staves are likewise mentioned.

[80] Duo panni linei qui in principalibus festis in choro explicantur ad capas superponendas continentes in longitudine quilibet sex ulnas et dimidium; hinc inde facta sunt duo vestimenta.—*Registrum Ornam. Capellæ Reg. de Windesore*, A.D. 1385; *Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* new ed. vol. viii, p. 1364.

SECTION V.

But the beautiful silk cope, decked with embroidery and storied orphreys, must not be confounded with another clerical garment somewhat like it in shape, bearing the same name, and which was anciently called

THE CANON'S COPE.

This robe, as may be seen from the wood-cut,[81] was

a large, full, flowing cloak, quite free and open before, downwards from the breast, where it began to close, and sewed up as far as the throat; all around which was attached a hood, so as to be easily drawn up over the head, though it was in general thrown

[81] It is of an illumination at the head of the ninety-seventh psalm, *Cantate Domino*, in a Latin psalter, written and illuminated in England during the second half of the thirteenth century, in my possession.

back upon the shoulders and left hanging there. To put on this vesture, the wearer had to pass his head through the neck. For all the clergy, high or low, in cathedral and collegiate churches, this cope was ordered to be black,[82] and most likely

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[82] Besides the statutes of St. Paul's, London, given in part iii of this work, p. 117; also see "De Habitu Chori," as above, p. 12. In the statutes which he drew up for his cathedral church at Exeter, A.D. 1337, Bishop Grandisson rehearses St. Osmund's rubrics for the most part almost word for word, adding however to them as follows: Quandocumque fit servicium pro mortuis dum corpus ad ecclesiam deportatur, et ad "Placebo," et ad "Dirige," et ad "Commendationes," et ad Missam licet duplex festum fuerit, et etiam in processione causa Temporis vel Tribulationis, et in Rogationibus, licet in festis duplicibus fuerit. Similiter etiam fiat in festo S. Marci Evangeliste ad processionem que solet fieri ipso die de jejunio, semper capis nigris utuntur: in vigiliis vero et quatuor Temporibus semper quando de jejunio dicitur Missa, utantur clerici in choro capis nigris, excepto ad "Placebo," et "Dirige," tantum in octava die Assumptionis et in die Gabrielis Archangeli.

Debent itaque omnes indui exterius capis nigris . . . longis ad minus usque ad pedes: et interius superpelliceis longitudinem cape non excedentibus. Et in capite pilleolis nigris: item calceamenta habeant honestati et religioni convenientia, et alia indumenta clericorum decentia et in nullo forma vel colore reprehensibilia. Coronas fere usque ad medium capitis cum tonsura ad aures statui condecentes (Ex Ordinali a J. de Grandissono Ep. Exon. edito A.D. 1337, fol. x). This manuscript is in the library of Exeter

they had it made of thin cloth, or some other woollen texture.

SECTION VI.

Along with the canon's cope was worn the "almucia," or, as it is often found called in our old documents,

THE FURRED AMYS,

an article of ecclesiastical raiment which, while it has always been so fashioned as to answer its two-fold purpose of cap and tippet, has undergone no slight variations. Such an appendage became to the choir-priest, when about the divine offices, some of which were sung at night or early morn, and are long, what the hood was to the layman; and like

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cathedral, and for this extract I am indebted to my esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Oliver.

This canon's cope is especially mentioned by some of our native writers, who contrast it with the richer and more ornamented one. Describing a discussion which took place, A.D. 1237, in St. Paul's cathedral, London, Matthew Paris tells us: Willielmus de Ræle indutus capa canonicali et superpellicio, etc. (*Hist.* p. 302). Its black colour is particularly noticed by Roger Hoveden, in his account of St. Thomas of Canterbury: Post celebrationem Missæ archiepiscopus imposuit collo suo stolam, deinde induit cappam nigram canonicalem et profectus est statim ad curiam regis, etc.—*Annalium, Pars Posterior*, fol. 283.

that portion of worldly dress, from which, however, it widely differed in form, shrouded the head and neck, at the same time that it muffled the shoulders, as we see here.

Petrus de Cinthiis, Canon of St. Peter's, Rome, A.D. 1360.

This earliest shape of the furred "amys" may be seen on many old monuments abroad, and it is figured on the heads of the canons who are sitting stalled and at matins, in an illumination of our Richard II's beautiful prayer-book, now belonging to the British Museum, and of which we have given an etching in the present work.[83]

On the outside, this "amys" was commonly of black cloth,[84] and within, lined with fur of a colour and a quality betokening the wearer's rank in the church[85] and grade in the choir; and the tails of

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[83] See the frontispiece to this volume.

[84] Statutes of St. Paul's, London, part iii, p. 123.

[85] Various kinds of fur were used for the almucia or amys, according to the rank of the wearer: the finer sorts were limited to the dignitaries and upper canons; but even among the clergy of the lower grade in a cathedral, there was a distinction marked by the furring of the amys. Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, the vicars choral of the four great personages in Lichfield cathedral were to be known from the others by the amys of Cala-

the animals, the skins of which had been employed for that purpose, were fastened all round its lower

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brian skin which they wore: Succentor—ac vicarii chorales stallorum dignitatum decanatus, cancellariatus et thesauriatus—dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ (Lichfieldensis) amado sint sacerdotes, ac almuciis de calabur in præfata ecclesia utuntur (*Statuta Domini Will. Heyworth, Ep. Lich.* c. A.D. 1420, apud Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.* vol. viii, p. 1263). That scoffer at every thing most holy, Bale, in his *Olde God and the newe*, which is a translation from the work of Hartmannus Dulichius, makes the vicars or "chaplaynes" of a cathedral thus speak of their choir dress: "Besydes this (a whyte linen surples) we do on us a calabere amyce (sig. L, fol. vii). Afterwards do come in our masters and lordes of the close covered with gray amyces, and havynge on a very white surples."—Sig. L, fol. viii, 6.

Though only a minor canon, the under dean of St. Paul's, London, was privileged to wear an amys like to the one allowed to the upper canons and the dean himself: Subdecanus—par erit reliquis suis fratribus (minoribus canonicis) hoc uno excepto quod amictum ex grisio, more majoris canonici ferre possit et debet quod erat ei concessum anno Christi MCCCC°. Willielmo Warham tunc episcopo (*De Sub-Decano, Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 345). There is a mistake here in the time; Warham was Bishop of London from A.D. 1502 till 1504.

This "amictus ex grisio" was called the "grey amys," and made of costly silver-coloured fur: the minor canon's amys was formed of a much less expensive fur, of a dark brown colour, which, from its being found in greater quantities in Calabria, took its name from that Italian province: Sunt in ecclesia S. Pauli canonici qui minores appellantur;

hem as a kind of fringe. To the dignitaries of the Church, therefore, was allotted a richer sort of

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amictum ex calebro utuntur (*Ib.* p. 353, *De Can. Minor*). Being a mark of honour, the grey amys was allowed to the royal chaplains. At the high Mass for Henry VII's burial: After the lords and barrons had made theire offeringe, then followed the chapleins of dignitie and the grey amezes of the Kinges chappell, etc. (*Leland's Collectanea*, vol. iii, p. 308). Moreover, not only in cathedrals and collegiate churches, but even in a chantry chapel, when endowed to support several priests, the amys of fur was allowed to be worn by those chantry priests, as if they were canons. This we learn from the statutes drawn up by William, Bishop of Norwich, A.D. 1354: Domina Matildis de Lancastria—unam perpetuam cantariam quinque capellanorum fundavit. In capella autem eorum dum divina celebrant superpelliciis et capis nigris et amiciis de nigro et furratis ad modum canonicorum secularium indui volumus (*Mon. Anglic.* vol. viii, p. 1555). The rulers of the choir even in our parish churches, wore grey amyses: A.D. 1530. For two stolys for the rectors in the quyre, and two greyes skynnes 4*s.* 1*d.* (*Churchwardens' Accts. of St. Mary Hill, London, Illust.* etc. by Nichols, p. 109). These two "stolys" or stools were most likely set just before the eagle or lecturn in the middle of the chancel.

Our English prelates sometimes bestowed upon the dignitaries of the monastic clergy the privilege of wearing the grey amys. In the Register of Hugh Oldam, Bishop of Exeter, may be seen, as Dr. Oliver tells me, a license granted the 7th of January 1508, to John Carlyon, prior of the Augustinian convent of St. Stephen's, Launceston (*Reg.* fol. 34): Ut Tu et successores tui Priores dicti

amys: doctors in divinity or canon law might be at once recognized by a scarlet amys furred with grey;[86] the full canon had assigned him one that was outside black, but within, made of the same fine grey skins of a deep silvery hue; while to every person beneath that rank it was forbidden, with a few exceptions, to have any other than a dark brown and cheaper kind of fur in this article of Church attire.[87]

Prioratus, valeas et valeant uti temporibus Divinorum et in processionibus universis illo habitu amisiæ de gray quo temporibus Divinorum in nostris ecclesiis Cathedrali et Collegiatis utuntur canonici.

[86] Doctors of divinity and dignitaries in the Protestant Establishment of England, still keep up the use of the scarlet gown in the universities on solemn occasions, and the daily wear of the scarlet hood hanging behind from the shoulders, in the cathedrals. This, to my thinking, is not the old, but a modern way of putting it on: anciently the doctor's hood was placed upon the shoulders and not behind, as is shown from the ceremonial of our Catholic kings at the feast of the Epiphany, as is instanced in Henry VII, who, "on the XIIth even went to the evensong in his surcoot outward with tabert sleves, the cappe of estate on his hede, and the hode aboute his showlders in doctors wise." —*Leland's Collectanea*, vol. iii, p. 235.

At the christening of Prince Arthur, Henry VII's eldest son, besides several bishops, there were present "many noble doctors in riche copes and grey amys."—*Leland's Collectanea*, vol. iii, p. 206.

[87] This distinction between the furs of the amyses assigned to canons and to vicars, is noticed in the statutes of

The end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century saw the pretty general adoption among the clergy, both secular and monastic, of a small round cap, which they were allowed to have on during the less solemn parts of Divine service:[88] the amys, as a hood, became therefore not so much needed as of old, and perhaps may have been felt, excepting by night, or during cold weather, even too warm. Hence arose the custom of throwing back from the head in the daytime the uppermost part of the amys, to let it hang down behind like a hood;[89] and to hinder the whole, in this loose condition, from slipping off the shoulders,

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the collegiate church of Stoke by Clare, in Suffolk, A.D. 1422: Statutum est et ordinatum quod canonici utantur almuciis griseis, et vicarii nigris, et utrique capis nigris serico duplicatis sive ornatis et superpelliciis albis, matutinis, missis, et aliis horis canonicis, more aliorum collegiorum, a festo S. Jeronimi usque vigiliam Paschæ: et deinde usque ad idem festum utantur canonici almuciis griseis, et superpelliciis albis sine capis nigris, nisi in Missis et exequiis defunctorum et processionibus in quibus per ordinale aliter requiritur; et per idem tempus utantur superpelliciis albis, et almuciis honestis et consuetis serico duplicatis et furratis (*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1419). See also note 85, just before.

[88] This closely fitting kind of scull-cap is seen on the canons figured in our frontispiece to this volume, and on several of the grave-brasses that have been given by Waller in his *Monumental Brasses*.

[89] See note 21 further on.

it was brought to meet in front by being stitched together all down the breast, so that in putting it on, the wearer had to pass his head through it. Moreover, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find that another change was wrought in this attire, and it came, here in England, to be fashioned more as a tippet for the shoulders than as a head-covering, though it could be, and very likely sometimes was, applied to this latter purpose, for it kept a large roomy hood hanging down from all around the neck: it entirely overspread the shoulders and breast, whereon it met and was still sewed, and reaching as far down as the elbows, mantled the person, like a modern short cape, being of the same length before as behind: it kept its fringe of little tails, but to these were now added two long strips of the same fur which, stole-like, fell below the knees, retaining the whole way down an equal breadth, that must have been about three inches, as is shown by this wood-cut of the effigy of William Canynges, in St. Mary Redcliffe's, Bristol. Towards, however, the early part of the sixteenth century this furred amys underwent another though slight modification: it was made to be, like a shawl,

longer behind than before, and the two strips of fur in front, where they began, were very wide, but narrowing as they fell, ended in a sharp point.[90]

Not the least remarkable thing in these changes of the furred amys is, that it became, as it were, turned inside out: at the beginning, it was outwardly of black cloth, and inside, lined with fur; in its first variation, nothing could be seen but its fur: to the very last it kept its little hood hanging behind and partly around the shoulders.

But how happens it, some may ask, that ecclesiastics, well known to have been not canons in any cathedral or collegiate establishment, but mere rectors in their respective churches, should be figured wearing the canon's furred amys? To answer this question, we must bring to mind a custom peculiar to this island.

In many of our parish churches there were both a rector and a perpetual curate: while the rector was looked upon as the personage or "parson,"[91]

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[90] There are several examples of this among the later brasses: that of Arthur Cole, canon of Windsor, A.D. 1558, in St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, shows it well.

[91] The great officials or dignitaries of a cathedral were called personages or personæ; and in England such a title was given, and not unfittingly, to the rectors of parish churches. The council of Oxford, held A.D. 1222, says in one of its decrees: Universi rectores ecclesiarum qui vulgariter dicuntur persone (*Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Brit.* vol. i, p. 596); and Lyndwood, in his *Provinciale*, p. 67, *Oxford*,

and held to be its dignitary, to the perpetual curate fell all the heavier work—the cure of souls.

Now as several of our cathedrals, by a curious anomaly, were served, not as throughout the rest of Christendom by canons chosen from among the secular priesthood, but by monks of the Benedictine order,[92] in such diocesses, as a slight compensation to the secular clergy, those of them who were rectors were allowed to assume, as if they had been really canons, the furred amys; and this privilege, which had long existed, was formally ratified to them by the Apostolic See, on the occasion of elevating some of our parish churches into their new dignity of rectories.[93]

1679, especially tells us this: "Persona, *i.e.* rector; et est persona vulgare Anglicorum." The title of "parson" is time-honoured in England, and lays claim to our respect from its frequent recurrence in the decrees of our venerable and ancient national councils. It will therefore never be slightingly applied by any one who either knows or loves the gone-by glories of the Catholic Church in this land. W. de Wanda, afterwards dean of Salisbury, thus denominates the higher clergy of that cathedral: "Ad excellentiores eiusdem ecclesiæ filios, viz. personas et canonicos," in contradistinction to the "clerici inferiores, viz. vicarii."—*Wilkins, Concil.* t. i, p. 554.

[92] See notes 14 and 15, further on.

[93] Fuit nobis expositum quod—in civitate Cantuariensi nulli sunt canonici, vel aliæ personæ ecclesiasticæ, quæ almucia de variis sive griseis pellibus deferant, prout in quampluribus ecclesiis dicti regni illarum canonici deferre

SECTION VII.

Though not wholly, at least in great part, these variations were owing to the use of

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consueverunt, et quæ juxta consuetudinem regni ipsius ad decus et ornamentum ecclesiarum et personarum ecclesiasticarum multum conferunt. Cum autem, sicut eadem expositio subjungebat, in Cantuariensi prædicta, ac diversis aliis diœcesibus dicti regni sint quamplures ecclesiæ parochiales, rectores et etiam perpetuos vicarios insimul habentes, quarum cura animarum non per rectores, sed per vicarios prædictos exercetur—etsi illarum rectores almucia de variis sive griseis pellibus hujuscemodi in supplimentum canonicorum deferrent, id profecto ad decus et honorem tam rectorum eorundem, quam totius cleri civitatis et diœceseos Cantuariensium prædictarum cederet. Quare pro parte dicti Thomæ cardinalis nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut quod Cherryng et de Aldyngton, etc. etc., parochialium ecclesiarum rectores moderni, et qui pro tempore fuerint, almucia de pellibus variis sive griseis hujuscemodi deinceps perpetuo deferre valeant, statuere et ordinare, aliasque in præmissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremus; nos itaque hujuscemodi supplicationibus inclinati quod moderni et qui pro tempore fuerint rectores parochialium ecclesiarum prædictarum almucia de variis sive griseis pellibus hujuscemodi, tam in Cantuariensibus prædictis quam quibusvis aliis ecclesiis dicti regni, necnon processionibus et aliis actibus perpetuo deinceps, adinstar canonicorum aliarum ecclesiarum cathedralium secularium prædicti regni deferre libere et licite valeant, auctoritate apostolica, tenore præsentium, statuimus et ordinamus, etc. Dat.

THE CLERICAL CAP,

at which we slightly glanced just now.

If we are to believe an unknown writer (wrongly named Alcuin, but who must have lived some time during the eleventh century), the clergy at Rome, and in some other quarters within the limits of the Latin rite, in his days always officiated at the holy sacrifice bareheaded, differing on this point from the Greeks, who wore a cap at the altar.[94] That this so-called Alcuin was mistaken with regard to the usages of the later Anglo-Saxons, at least for bishops, we shall be able to show when we come to speak of the episcopal mitre: regarding the second order of clergy, however, he is correct, for no evidence exists to prove that up to the reign of the Confessor, any sort of cap was employed in this country at Divine service by any one in the priesthood, or of a lower rank in holy orders.

Soon after this latter period, the cap must have been adopted by our English ecclesiastics, since in

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Romæ, A.D. 1483.—*Sixti IV, Bulla, ex reg. Alcock. Wigorn.* fol. 129, apud Wilkins, *Concil.* t. iii, pp. 615, 616.

[94] Tiara erat vestis, pileolum videlicet rotundum .... Huiusmodi vestis non habetur in Romana ecclesia, vel in nostris regionibus. Non enim moris est, ut pileati divina mysteria celebrent. Apud Græcos autem hoc dicitur, qui pileos, id est, cuphias gestant in capite dum assistunt altaribus.—*Pseudo-Alcuinus, De Divinis Off. Cap. De Singulis Vestibus; Auct. Biblioth. Vet. Pat.* t. i, p. 272. Paris, 1610.

the next century, we find it noticed as one of the marks by which a churchman might be known in this country.[95] It must have been, too, not only a part of his ordinary dress, but of his ceremonial attire.[96] The monks were not slow in following

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[95] Reginald, the monk of Durham, a contemporary of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in describing that martyr's dress, particularly notices his cap: Pilleolo capitis vertice perornatus (*Libellus De Adm. B. Cuthberti Virtut.* p. 256). Other English writers notice it also: Then Reynolde with his sword-point put off Thomas's cap, and smote at his head and cut of his crown (*Caxton, Liber Festivalis*, fol. lxxxviii): Pilleum mucrone dejiciens.—Capgrave in *Vita S. Thomæ Cant. Nov. Leg. Angliæ*, impress. W. de Worde, fol. cclxxxxi.

[96] Item in sequenti armario inveni sex pilleolos officiariorum et octo mitras.—*Invent.* an. 1218, t. i, *Hist. Nem.* p. 66.

The term, however, under which this black cap was more generally known in the colloquial language of the time, was "hure"; Matthew Paris tells us of the bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry II, A.D. 1163: Statimque assurgens, in manu regis per capitis sui galerum qui "hura" dicitur, resignavit id juris quod dicebat se habere in ecclesia beati Albani, etc. (*In Vitis Abb.* p. 53). Again, in a satire, written during the thirteenth century, on the Consistory Courts, the ecclesiastic president is described as wearing a black cap or "hure," and a gown with hanging sleeves, called a "hery-goud":

> Furst ther sit an old cherl in a blake hure
> Of all that ther sitteth semeth best syre,
> * * * *
> An heme in an hery-goud with honginde sleven.

the example of the secular clergy, and in the year 1243, the Roman Pontiff, Innocent IV, on being asked, gave leave to the Benedictines of St. Austin's Abbey, Canterbury,[97] to wear caps in the choir during Divine service. After that epoch, mention of the cap often occurs in our national as well as foreign documents; and in some cathedrals[98] of this country it was a part of the dress especially or-

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—*Political Songs of England*, p. 156, printed for the Camden Society. By a canon of the council of Worcester, held A.D. 1240. this sleeved garment was expressly forbidden to the higher clergy: cappas etiam deferant clausas sacerdotes et personatum habentes, ubique; nec utantur de cætero Heregaudis (*MS. Cotton, Claudius* A. VIII, fol. b, and *Wilkins, Concil.*, l. i, p. 670). By some, the "hure" has been mistaken for a "gown". This "hure" was required to be worn in church: Utantur omnes (clerici majores) in choro nigris pileis ancehuris, et nullo modo capiciis sive cappis monstruosis.—*Statut. Eccl. Collegiat. de Stoke juxta Clare. Dugdale, Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1419.

[97] Vestris supplicationibus inclinati vobis utendi pileis vestro ordini congruentibus cum divinis interfueritis officiis, concedimus liberam facultatem. Ita tamen quod in lectione Evangelica et elevatione corporis Domini Jesu Christi, et in aliis debita reverentia observetur (*Raynaldus*, ad annum 1243, n. 41). This same pope granted a like faculty to the monks of Peterborough.—*Gunton*, p. 161.

[98] Bishop Grandisson, A.D. 1337, in his statute, "De Habitu Chori," says: Debent omnes indui exterius capis nigris. . . . Et in capite pilleolis nigris, etc. See note before, 82, p. 51.

dained by the statutes to be put on by each prebendary when he came to sing in the choir.

But it would seem that, truly speaking, the cap used by our churchmen in the olden times, was of a twofold kind, of which one, like a skull-cap,[99]

[99] This skull-cap, it would seem, was called "birettum," and Robert Archbishop of Canterbury invested Thomas Custe, of Maidstone, with an ecclesiastical benefice, A.D. 1298, by giving him the very one which he himself, the metropolitan, had on: Thomæ Custe providimus de beneficio ecclesiastico . . . illudque eidem Thomæ contulimus ac eum de ipso per nostrum birettum præsentialiter investimus, etc. (*Chron. W. Thorn*, p. 1969). This "birettum" must in shape have been half a circle, so as to cover the upper part only of the head: such it is figured very often on the grave brasses set over dignified churchmen: John Strete, rector of Upper Hardress church, Kent, and three out of the four ecclesiastics from New College chapel, Oxford, all given in their fine work, by the brothers Waller, are examples.

One kind of cap there was which all churchmen were forbidden, under the threat of fine and deprivation, to wear either in public, except on a journey, or in any place before their ecclesiastical superiors; and such was the coif called also in the canons "tena": Nec nisi in itinere constituti (clerici) unquam aut in ecclesiis, vel coram prælatis suis, aut in conspectu communi hominum, publice infulas suas quas vulgo "coyphas" vocant, portare aliquatenus audeant vel præsumant (*Constit. Othoboni*, A.D. 1268, apud Wilkins, *Concil. Mag. Brit.* Tom. ii, p. 4). Archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1281, in the provincial council which he held at Lambeth, embodied this among his constitutions,

fitted tight to the head, the other more loose, and though quite round and cornerless, widened at top,

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and made a heavy enactment "contra (clericos) portantes infulas aut tenas coram prælatis, aut coram populo publice deferentes" (*Ib.* p. 59). To guess from illuminated MSS., this coif must have been made of white linen; and it sat very close upon the head, which it entirely covered, and was tied by two strings rather tightly under the chin. It might, however, be put on under the hood by the clerk who was unwell, or in cold weather: "Videtur—quod tali infula vel tena sub caputio, causa frigoris vel infirmitatis, uti non sit prohibitum," as the gloss expresses in *Lyndwood's Provinciale*, lib. iii, tit. i, p. 120. Hence William de Bussey "qui . . . captus est coram judicibus judicandus. Et cum non posset obiectis respondere . . . voluit ligamina suæ coifæ solvere, ut palam monstraret tonsuram se habere clericalem."—*Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl.* sub an. 1259, p. 663.

Our lawyers wore, and are still thought to wear, the coif; and it is distinctly shown on the head of a cumbent figure in Dorchester church, Oxon, representing one of the Stonor family,—in his days a serjeant of the coif.

To mere laymen it was allowed to keep on the coif even in church: this we learn from a passage in the Life of St. William Archbishop of York, in which we are told of one who crept up into the loft over the screen during matins, and falling asleep there, had his coif cut in two upon his head without being hurt by the stone pillar of the book-stand which fell upon him: Dormientibus siquidem in ambone quibusdam canonicorum servientibus . . . unus ibidem quiescentium, caput suum super basim pulpito in quo legi solet Evangelium, reclinavit. Et ecce, dum tertia lectio legeretur, per impulsum fortuitum, lapis colum-

from the middle of which, as we see in the sculptures and illuminations of the period, it shot up suddenly into a low blunt point.[1]

By the end of the fifteenth century, this cap had already exchanged its round for a square form, but still it was always kept very low though wide, and in the transition lost that slight elevation in the middle of the crown which it had hitherto had: not being then made up with a harsh stiffness about it, it showed no hard straight lines and sharp

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naris non modici ponderis, super caput quiescentis cecidit . . . Surgens vero ille qui dormierat, nihil mali sentiebat: tenam autem suam quam habebat in capite dissolvens, advertit eam ex utraque parte capitis—corrosam, etc.—*Acta S. Willielmi, Archiep. Eborac.* apud *AA. SS. Junii* tom. ii, p. 144.

[1] The larger cap is well shown on the cumbent stone figure in Hereford cathedral of Dean Borew, who died A.D. 1462. The cap is low and quite round. Hollis has published this monument. It is seen too in our wood-cut of Dr. Christopher Urswick in Section IX further on.

By the customs of St. Paul's cathedral, London, its minor clergy were forbidden to go during day-time into the church to sing the Divine office at the canonical hours with a cap on, unless it was doubled up on their head: Nullus eorum . . . de die cum pilleo nisi dupplicato super caput ad horas canonicas ingrediantur. See Part III of this work, p. 123. From this, it would follow that the clerical cap had, in some churches, a full, broad brim which could and was required to be turned up on reaching the choir.

angles, like the modern stiff paste-board cap, but took an easy, soft, bending shape. Most likely at first, only such ecclesiastics as were either weak of health, or deep stricken in years, thought of wearing both the close skull-cap and the larger and more roomy square one together; later, however, the hale and youthful, the old and feeble, all deemed it becoming to do so; hence came it that, to take off the two caps together at those parts of the service where, out of reverence to the Holy Name or otherwise, the head should be bared for a short while, they were sewed one to the other, so that out of this grew the celebrated "pileus quadratus,"[2] which time has handed down to us, though somewhat altered, in the present trencher-cap of the English universities.

For all orders of the clergy, from the bishop downwards to the lowliest clerk, this cap was black;[3]

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[2] The refusal of some of the heads of the Protestant Establishment in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, to wear the square cap and the surplice, kindled the warmest controversy among the teachers of Protestantism.

[3] As extraordinary exceptions to this general rule, Sarnelli noticed that in his time, A.D. 1682, the skull-cap worn by the Patriarch of Venice was purple, as were the caps of the canons at Antwerp cathedral: A proposito del berrettino . . . Monsignor Patriarca l'usa di color pavonazzo; siccome hò letto, che dello stesso colore adoperano le berrette i canonici d'Antuerpia.—*Lettere Eccles.*, tom. ii, p. 63.

and such a general rule knew of but very few exceptions: those whom the Supreme Pontiffs raised to the dignity of the Roman cardinalate, besides the scarlet hat[4] granted them by Pope Innocent IV, A.D. 1245, were allowed to wear, at Divine service, a scarlet cap,[5] by Paul II, A.D. 1464. Moreover, in some cathedrals, by an especial favour of the Holy See, all the canons, as at Pisa to the present day, or only a chosen few of those dignitaries, as in former times at Cologne,[6] were permitted to

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[4] *Sandini, Vitæ Pontif. Romanor.* p. 366, in notis. Venetiis, 1768.

[5] Ibid. p. 438.

[6] Statuimus (Eugenius Papa III) ut septem idonei presbyteri cardinales in prædicta ecclesia (Coloniensi) ordinentur, qui induti dalmaticis et mitris ornati, ad principalia duo altaria eiusdem ecclesiæ cum totidem diaconibus et subdiaconibus quibus sandaliorum usum concedimus, Missarum solennia in festivis diebus tantummodo administrarent.—*Concil. Gen.* ed. Binio, tom. vii, parte 2, p. 613. Ep. x *Eugenii III*, c. A.D. 1146; et Crombach, *Hist. SS. Trium Reg.* p. 808.

I saw, A.D. 1847, the Archbishop of Cologne robed exactly like a cardinal, though he is not one, assist at High Mass in the cathedral of that city; and in the public picture gallery I noticed, on the left hand in going into the large room, a small picture of one of these cardinal-canons, robed in scarlet cassock, surplice, hood of crimson trimmed with fur, and having his almuce or amys of grey edged with brown tails hung over his right arm, and a red cap in his hands.

have this scarlet cap, along with all the other cardinalitial robes. But purple caps for bishops were,

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What was formerly the colour of the doctor's cap in our English universities I cannot say; but as it is known the hood was, and still continues to be scarlet, I am led to think that so too was, in Catholic times, the cap. An illumination in a MS. of the Canterbury pilgrimage, copied by Shaw in his beautiful work, "*Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*," vol. ii, plate 62, shows, among other riders, a dignified churchman, who has on not only a scarlet cassock and a scarlet hood about his shoulders above his rochet, but a bonnet on his head of that same colour: this ecclesiastic I take to be meant for a doctor in theology; and Henry de Maunsfield, D.D., and chancellor of Oxford University, A.D. 1311, is figured on a window in the chapel of Merton college in that city, clad in a dark blue gown, and having on a light crimson-coloured skull-cap.

In some of the French universities, the cap for a doctor in divinity was ornamented with a white silk tassel; that for a canonist with a green one; and a doctor's in civil law with a red one having a purple tuft in the middle: Notandum quod sicut sunt tres gradus, tres floci ex filo serici debent esse super quolibet boneto doctorandi et doctoris sui præsentantis, videlicet si quis assumat magisterium portet flocum album in signum divinitatis theologiæ . . . si in jure canonico, deferat flocum ex filo serici viridis in signum castitatis et doctrinæ . . . si in jure civili, portet flocum serici rubri in signum veræ justiciæ et sanguinis, media vero parte flocum coloris violacei.—*Stat. Universit. Aquens.* A.D. 1489. apud Carpentier *in Sup. ad Gloss.* Du Cangii, verbo "flocus," tom. ii.

At Salamanca and Coimbria, the doctor of divinity's

in by-gone days, as much unknown here in England, as they still are, and ever have been, in every other quarter of the Church.

SECTION VIII.

Besides the furred amys and the clerical cap,

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cap was black, but wholly covered by a large white silk tassel: Dantur illi (doctori) insignia illius collegii et illius gradus nempe birretum nigrum, et Salimanticæ et Conimbriæ et aliis collegiis ponitur in apice birreti floccus magnus ex serico albo occupans totum birretum (*Scappo De Birr. Rub. Cardin. Respon.* vi, p. 64). In Germany, doctors in civil law were allowed a scarlet cap: Jurisperitorum pileus est ruber (in Germania) (*Theoph. Raynaudus, De Pileo*, cap. x). In some of the French universities the doctor's cap was round, and along with it was conferred the privilege of using a golden sash: Accipite birretum rotundum ad modum coronæ . . . Datur Cadomi zona . . . Accipite zonam auream, etc. (*Lenauderius de Privil. Doct.* in *Tractato de Variis verbis Juris*, tom. xviii, fol. 4, b. quest. 3). In the great yearly procession at Louvain, where the members of that university used to walk along with the trades of the town; all doctors, whether of theology, or of law, or medicine, wore a cap and hood of a scarlet colour (*Molanus De Imaginibus*, ed. Paquot, p. 506). At the university of Salamanca, to doctors in theology was allowed the "Beca," a very curious kind of hood of red silk which, after being rolled like a low crown around the head, fell in large folds all about the shoulders of the wearer. It is described and figured in *AA. SS. Junii*, tom. ii, p. 631.

there was another though less usual kind of adornment, of which our native antiquaries seem unaware, and no modern liturgist has taken any notice: on particular occasions the custom was in England for the clergy to wear

A GARLAND TWINED ABOUT THE HEAD.

Crowned with roses, and honeysuckle, and other sweet-smelling flowers, the canons and vicars of some of our cathedrals,[7] and the clergy in not a

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[7] Sicque hodie cum alibi tum apud Anglos, statis solennibusque diebus sacerdotes coronati in supplicationibus publicis incedunt et præsertim Londini sacerdotes Paulini, mense Junio die divo Paulo Apostolo sacro, qui simul omnia ejus diei sacra coronati curant, faciuntque.—*Polydorus Vergilius, De Invent. Rer.* lib. ii, cap. xvii.

Stow mentions the procession at St. Paul's, London, on the feast of the Apostle, when the dean and chapter "apparelled in coaps and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads, issued out at the west door."—*Survey of London*, Book iii, p. 165, ed. Strype, London, 1720.

Of old, our English youth, it would seem, were very fond of wearing wreaths of flowers, for such floral adornments were not the least conspicuous parts of the holyday attire displayed at Paris by our young countrymen then studying there, as they went forth to meet their king, Henry III, when he visited that city, A.D. 1254: Scholares autem Parisienses, maxime Anglicæ nationis, certificati de adventu talium regum et reginarum . . . cereos, vestesque festivas quas vulgus Cointisas appellant, et omnia quæ gaudium poterant attestari, emerunt et sibi præparabant,

few of our parishes,[8] walked forth in solemn array at the great processions of the year, and on the festival of the saint under whose name their dear old church was dedicated to Almighty God; and besides this, went through all the Divine service of the day having on these wreaths of blooming flowers.

Such a becoming practice was not confined to England; Germany,[9] France,[10] and Italy,[11] followed

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cantantes ramigeri et florigeri, cum sertis et coronis et musicis instrumentis processerunt venientibus obviam, etc. (*Matt. Paris, Hist.* p. 604). Chaucer makes his gaily clad young gentleman

> Have hatte of floures fresh as May,
> Chapelet of roses of Whitsunday.

—*The Romaunt of the Rose, Chaucer's Works*, vol. iv, p. 68, ed. by Sir H. Nicolas.

[8] Garlondes on Corpus Christi day, 10*d.* . . . for rose-garlondis and wodrove garlondis on Saynt Barnebas day, 11*d.*—*Churchwardens' Accts. of St. Mary Hill, London, Illustrat. etc.* by Nichols, p. 94.

A dozen and ½ rose-garlondes on St. Barnebas day, 8½*d.* —*Ibid.* p. 95.

For two doss di (two dozen and a half) bocse garlonds for prests and clerkes on St. Barnebe daye, 1*s.* 10*d.*, A.D. 1486.—*Ibid.*

For rosse garlonds on Corpus Xp̃i day, vi*d.*

garlonds on Seynt Marten's day, y^e^ translacyon.—*Ibid. St. Martin Outwich, London*, A.D. 1525, p. 273.

[9] Sequantur pueri seu scholares lineis induti, et coronas in capite, non calices tamen, sed candelas accensas, aut

it; and as the clergy of those countries went forth, bearing in triumphant gladness the body of our

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insignia passionis Domini aut nolas in manibus portantes et pulsantes (in processione in solemnitate Corporis Christi).—*Synod. Dioces. Wormiens.* A.D. 1610. tom. ix, *Conc. Germ.*, p. 119.

It was not merely the singing boys of a cathedral who wore a wreath of flowers on this great festival; even the Emperor himself, of Germany, used, at that period, to walk in this procession with nothing on his head but a floral crown, for it is recorded of Ferdinand II, A.D. 1619, that he used to take part in this solemnity, "sola florea redimitus corolla."—*Sarnelli, Lett. Eccl.* t. iv, p. 50, n. 18.

Videas eos qui μυστηριοφορον sacerdotis cingunt latera viros principes aliosque proximos vel antecedentes vel subsequentes sertis redimitos: floribus ornatos pueros, rosis coronatas virgines imo et Moguntiæ ecclesiarum omnium canonicos clerumque pene totum quernis aut hederaceis capita revinctos coronis. Indicant hæc omnia spiritualem lætitiam.—*Serarius* in *Opusculis*, tom. iii, p. 142, where the "Corpus Christi" procession is described.

On the octave day of the Epiphany, all the subdeacons belonging to Cologne cathedral, at performing a ceremony peculiar to that church, walked in procession to the chapter-house with lighted tapers in their hands and their heads crowned with ivy-wreaths: Hederaceo serto coronati cereisque accensis, etc.—*Crombach, Hist. SS. Trium Regum*, tom. iii, lib. iii, cap. xiv, p. 732.

[10] Martene found this procession thus figured in an illumination in a manuscript missal, written for some church at Melun: In missali Melodunensi, feria 5, post festum SS. Trinitatis habetur missa de SS. Sacramento, cui appicta

Lord in the blessed Eucharist, through the streets and squares of the densely peopled city, or along

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est imago sacerdotis sacram eucharistiam manu gestantis, sub baldachino a quatuor viris delato, qui perinde ac sacerdos ipse reliquique clerici nudum caput florum coronis ornatum habent (*De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* tom. iii, lib. iv, cap. xxix, p. 197. In his precious but now rare little book, "De Processionibus Ecclesiasticis," Eveillon tells us, that at the cathedral of Angiers, of which he was a canon, among other rites during the procession for Corpus Christi, were observed the following: Serta, festæ frondes, corollæ e floribus in capitibus puerorum symphoniacorum et aliorum ecclesiæ administratorum, etc. (p. 274.) Exactly the same rite was followed in the cathedral of Laon, as we learn from the work of its learned and pious dean, Bellotte, who tells us that, among the things got ready for keeping the festival of Corpus Christi in that church, were: Serta seu festæ frondes in sanctorum reliquiis apponendæ, corollæ item è floribus, capitibus puerorum symphoniacorum, et aliorum ecclesiæ ministrorum efferendæ (*Ritus Ecc. Laudunensis*, p. 859). In the same church, the custom was to give away wreaths made of green boughs, as the hymn was being sung at the hour of prime on the morning of Twelfthtide eve: Post quemlibet versum Hymni ad Primam decantandi repetenda; *Dei solemnia recolat Ecclesia;* ac eodem ipso temporis momento fit in eadem Laudunensi Ecclesia, ac illius sumptu, solemnis ac publica virentibus foliis coronarum largitio (*ibid.* p. 813). That wearing garlands was peculiar neither to Angiers nor Laon, but adopted all over France, is evident from what a later writer on the same subject, Vatar, remarks: C'est premièrement où paroissent tous les ministres des autels

the highways and by-ways of the lowly village and the little hidden hamlet of a rural parish, they had nothing on their heads but a wreath of roses; and the old men and the young, the choir of singing-boys, and the youthful maidens clad in white, who strewed the path, whereby the Holy of Holies was to come, with evergreens and sweetly-scented herbs and flowers—all were garlanded with roses. In some towns abroad was it the custom for the good parish priest to go every year, his brow entwined with newly-gathered buds of the rose and

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avec les plus beaux ornemens, des couronnes de fleurs à leurs testes, et des bouquets à leurs mains.—*Des Processions de l'Eglise*, p. 472.

[11] The practice of North Italy is well shown by the rubrics in the "Sacerdotale" put forth for the diocess of Brescia. Concerning the procession for Corpus Christi, that manual enjoins: Deputentur principaliores aliquot viri pro portando baldachino, sub quo sacerdos cum Venerabili Sacramento processionaliter ire debet: qui viri pro cujusque facultatibus pulchre sint vestiti, ferantque singuli sertum in capite ex floribus confectum. Induantur aliquot puerorum paria ad formam Angelorum cum sertis in capite, quorum aliqui canistris deferant folia rosarum versus Venerabile Sacramentum quandoque in processione seminanda, etc. Aliquot viri decenter vestiti cum sertis rosarum in capite qui ab utraque parte baldachini deferant faces, lampades, seu candelas accensas. . . . Instrui possent aliquot paria puerorum, puellarumque, qui decenter vestiti, et cum sertis roseis processionaliter irent, etc.—Apud Catalanum, *Rituale Romanum*, tom. ii, pp. 214, 215.

orange-blossom, and holding in his hand a posy of the sweetest roses nicely arranged, with his loved and loving flock crowded about him, to do homage to the bishop seated on his episcopal chair in the cathedral :[12] in other places, did he who had been just called to the priesthood, walk with a crown of flowers around his head to the altar upon which he was then about to offer up, for the first time, the holy and adorable sacrifice of the Mass.[13]

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[12] Antiquus mos Nolæ incubuit ut omnes sacerdotes . . . ad urbem episcopumque se conferant. Verumtamen non licet clericis urbem intrare nisi coronatis atque ordine canentibus, cum plusculis tibicinibus. Cantus sunt Dei et sanctorum hymni; corollæ vero contextæ rosis floribusque citreis aliisque quos pulcherrimos ea dies producere solet; manu quoque ferentibus fasciculos rosarum affabre contextos, atque arte distinctos.

Eo itaque modo ornati sacerdotes urbem templumque episcopi ingrediuntur. . . . Vocatur igitur sacerdos . . . . ad episcopum accedit coronatus atque floribus redimitus. Deinde solium ascendit, ac genuflexo extractaque capiti corolla, episcopum veneratur, corollamque et ac faciculos florum omnes illi largitur, et exosculata manu accedit ad suos.—*Ughellus, Italia Sacra*, tom. vi, col. 284.

[13] Martene, in his most interesting *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Bénédictins*, tells us: Lorsque nous arrivâmes à Anchin la première personne que nous rencontrâmes fut une chanoinesse regulière, qui portoit une couronne de fleurs sur la tête, et comme cela nous surprit, on nous dit qu'il y avoit en ce jour-là une première messe au monastere, et qu'aux premières messes le célébrant portoit une couronne

SECTION IX.

Another step onwards will lead to

THE VESTURE OF THE CLERGY IN CHOIR.

Till the change in our national belief, many of England's cathedrals were held and served, not as abroad by secular canons, but Benedictine monks. This custom was brought into use by St. Austin, himself a monk, and was more widely spread and strengthened through the way in which the Anglo-Saxon Church followed the advice that St. Beda gave for overcoming whatever difficulties might arise against the erection of new episcopal sees—a thing the saint warmly advocated—which was to set them up in the larger and more wealthy monasteries.[14] That monks should serve a cathedral is

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de fleurs à l'autel, qu'il retenoit jusqu'à l'offertoire, et qu' alors on l'envoyoit à la plus proche parente, qui la portoit le reste de la journée.—*Second Voyage*, p. 85.

[14] Quapropter commodum duxerim, habito majori concilio, et consensu pontificali simul et regali, edicto prospiciatur locus aliquis monasteriorum, ubi sedes episcopalis fiat. Et ne forte abbas vel monachi huic decreto contraire ac resistere tentaverint, detur illis licentia, ut de suis ipsi eligant eum, qui episcopus ordinetur, et adjacentium locorum, quotquot ad eandem diœcesim pertineant, una cum ipso monasterio curam gerat episcopalem; aut si forte in ipso monasterio qui episcopus ordinari debeat inveniri

so wide a departure from the practice observed in every other country of Christendom, that it has awakened the surprise of ecclesiastical writers.[15]

Some of our cathedrals, before the coming over here of the Normans, but after that event many more, were in the hands of and officiated in by the secular clergy, embodied together under the name of

CANONS,

about whom, in general, it may not be amiss to say a word or two.

The word canonicus, or κανονικος, comes from κανων, which means a straight slip of wood for rectifying what is crooked. Besides several other ecclesiastical significations, "canon" or κανων means; 1, a rule of life; 2, a list or roll of the clergy associated to any particular church. As those who give themselves up more immediately to the worship of God and the service of the sanctuary, ought always to follow a straighter line of conduct, and be controlled by a stricter rule of life, hence it was that, at an early period, all persons, whether men or women, who had

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nequeat, in ipsorum tamen, juxta statuta canonum, pendeat examine, qui de sua diœcesi ordinetur antistes.—*S. Bedæ Epist. ad Ecgberctum Antistitem*, ed. Stevenson, *Opp. Hist.* t. ii, p. 216.

[15] Augustinus enim et Laurentius, aliique primi prædicatores Anglorum monachi fuerunt et in episcopiis suis vice canonicorum quod vix in aliis terris invenitur, monachos constituerunt.—*Orderici Vitalis Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv, p. 516.

made religious vows, the clergy, in all its grades, as well as monks and nuns, were denominated "canonical."

Towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, the bishops, in some places, gathered their clergy about them within their own houses, where they all lived together according to a certain rule, provided with food, raiment, and the requisites of life out of the revenues of the church which they served, and close to which they were dwelling. If not the first, at least one of the most illustrious examples of such a society was furnished by the celebrated St. Austin and his clergy of Hippo, who lived together under the same roof, and formed a kind of religious brotherhood, observing one common rule of life or canon, without making what are now known as the monastic vows, celibacy excepted, to which all in holy orders bound themselves. Such a mode of living for themselves and those among their clergy who served the cathedral church, became gradually adopted by several other prelates, especially on the continent; and hence arose, at least in continental christendom, the system of cathedral chapters, the members of which were called "canons," not only because they lived together under the same roof, slept in the same dormitory, eat at the same board, and obeyed one common rule, but because they were all enrolled as brethren upon the list of the same church which, in return for their services to her, fed and cherished them as her children. For the clergy officiating at the cathedral of Metz, in Lorraine, was it that St. Chrodogang the bishop of that see from the year 743 to 756, drew up a code of rules differing, under a few heads only, from the Benedictine institute. The common hall, the common sleeping-room, the dwelling-place enclosed by a wall in which there was but one gate to be opened and shut at stated hours, and watched by a porter,

are all insisted on by the rule of St. Chrodogang, which may be seen in tom. ii, p. 96, of the *Codex Regularum*, edited by *Brockie*. The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, held A.D. 816, drew up a set of statutes for the canons of cathedrals and collegiate churches, very much the same as those framed by St. Chrodogang, but which were somewhat altered by another council at Rome, A.D. 1059.

In that dearth, mourned over so long ago by Gildas, of documents illustrative of the early British church, we do not rightly know what was the system adopted by the bishops of Britain for the service of their cathedrals, though we are warranted to think that their episcopal sees were set up in the larger monasteries, and therefore served by monks. The Anglo-Saxons were acquainted with the use of the term "canonicus" as applied to the clergy. Ecgberht, archbishop of York, A.D. 732, tells us: Canones dicimus regulas quas sancti patres constituerunt, in quibus scriptum est quomodo canonici, id est, regulares clerici vivere debent (*Excerpt. Ecgberti*, tom. ii, p. 97, of the *Ancient Laws and Institutions of England*, published by the *Record Commission*, A.D. 1840); and the council of Calcuth, (Calchuthense) held A.D. 787, in its fourth discourse, which is thus headed :—*Ut vita et habitus canonicorum etc. sint de more orientalium, et juxta canones et decreta pontificum Romanorum*, makes the following enactment:—ut episcopi diligenti cura provideant quo omnes canonici sui canonice vivant, et monachi seu monachæ regulariter conversentur tam in cibis quam in vestibus, ut discretio sit inter canonicum et monachum vel secularem (*Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Brit.* t. i, p. 147). From such scanty evidence it would be hard to draw any more distinct conclusion, than that the term "canonicus" was in use among the Anglo-Saxons to point out the rest of the clergy from the monks who were bound to follow the rule

of their order, and to do the bidding of their abbot, as the churchman was to heed the ecclesiastical canons, and listen to the voice of his bishop. Perhaps, too, those of the clergy who were more strict in the fulfilment of their duties, were, from such a regularity, called "canons."

It would seem that those of our cathedrals which were served, during the Anglo-Saxon period, not by monks but by the secular clergy, had not belonging to them canons governed by the same rule of common life, like those on the continent. When Leofric translated his see from Crediton to Exeter, A.D. 1050, he got his new church to be served by canons who dwelt together under the same roof, slept in the one same room, and took their meals in the same common hall, a way of life for the clergy not monks, unheard of hitherto in this land, as Malmesbury tells us: Huic (Livingo) tempore Edwardi successit Lefricus apud Lotharingos altus et doctus qui sedem episcopatus transtulit in civitatem quæ, propter fluvium Exam qui muros lapsu suo allambit, vocatur Excestre . . . Hic Lefricus eiectis sanctimonialibus a sancti Petri monasterio episcopatum et canonicos statuit, qui contra morem Anglorum ad formam Lotharingorum uno triclinio comederent, uno cubiculo cubitarent. Transmissa est hujusmodi regula ad posteros, quamvis pro luxu temporum nonnulla iam ex parte deciderit, habentque clerici œconomum ab episcopo constitutum qui eis diatim necessaria victui, annuatim amictui commoda suggerat.—*Wil. Malmesburiensis de gestis pontificum Anglorum*, lib. 2, p. 145. b. Londini, 1596.

The end of the eleventh century, however, witnessed a change in the discipline that had for so many years been so generally observed on the continent by the clergy who served the cathedrals. That intimate community of life was broken off, and the observance of the same common

rule dispensed with. To every canon was allotted a dwelling-place apart for himself and his servants, though each one was expected to live within the walled space, called, from that circumstance, the close, a good specimen of which is still to be seen at Wells, near the cathedral, or at least within the neighbourhood of his church. To each was assigned, besides the commons which he drew every day he punctually came to choir, a decent provision, called a prebend, for the support of himself and his household; and an uninterrupted attendance at the various daily and nightly church-services was enjoined, unless the individual was expressly allowed, for some good reason, to be away. Thus, even after the alteration had been brought about, a something that bore a likeness to the ancient discipline was still kept up, and for this reason, and because they were enrolled in the list of clergy belonging to the church to which they became associated, the cathedral and collegiate clergy of the higher grades continued to be, and are yet, called "canons."

There were some collegiate bodies of canons who would not relax, but have ever remained steadfast in the practice of the early discipline of their order, always living in community under the guidance of their ancient rule. Such are now known as canons regular, and are thus distinguished from the other canons.

Perhaps the canons regular may be the "chanoines", and the secular clergy of cathedrals and collegiate churches the "canons" of our old national writers, whose distinction between "chanoines" and "canons" has hitherto puzzled our modern commentators.

In this transition, which was slow, of the canons regular into secular clerks, the vesture which had been first used by them in choir, underwent little change; so that the cathedral clergy continued to array themselves, for singing

the divine service, in robes like those employed by their predecessors.

In all cathedrals and collegiate churches, the clergy who served them might be separated into two grand divisions, of which one was called the upper, the other the lower grade. In the first were ranked the personages or dignitaries, as the dean, the treasurer, chancellor, precentor, etc. and the full canons; in the second, the under canons, vicars, and the rest of the minor clerks: the boys who sang in the choir, or ministered about the altar, were looked upon and treated as a distinct body.

For going to choir, over a cassock or pelisse, each one put on, in early times, an alb, at a later period, a surplice. Beside these garments, both grades of the clergy, without distinction, wore the canon's black woollen cope[16] throughout the year

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[16] Some families of canons regular still require their members, whenever they go out of the house, to wear over their cassock a linen surplice, and above that a large, full, black canon's cope. I have often met them so dressed about the streets of Rome. Such, too, was their habit when they went abroad in England during olden times, as we learn from our poet Chaucer, who thus describes one of them:

> At Boughton under Blee, us gan atake
> A man that clothed was in clothes blake,
> And undernethe he wered a white surplis.
> * * * *
> Al light for sommer rode this worthy man
> And in my herte wondren I began
> What that he was, till that I understode
> How that his cloke was sowed to his hode;

by night as at matins,[17] and by day, for prime, tierce, sext and none, or, as they are called, the "little hours," excepting at the more joyful seasons, such as Easter and Whitsuntide, and on high festivals and great saints' days, when they cast off the black cope and appeared in their surplices,[18] or were arrayed in rich silk copes for the procession and the grand high Mass.[19]

For which whan I had long avised me
I demed him some chanon for to be.
—*The Chanones Yemannes Prologue.*

[17] The morrow-mass priest of Lichfield cathedral, as he had to say Mass as early as five o'clock every morning, was allowed to be away from midnight office: Capellanus S. Ceddæ . . . in ecclesia nostra . . . missam matutinalem, viz., hora quinta incipiente, de mane singulis diebus celebret . . . ita quod idem capellanus . . . matutinis media nocte decantandis, minime interesse teneatur.—*Statuta Domini Will. Heyworth Ep.* c. A.D. 1420, apud *Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* vol. viii, p. 1262.

[18] See chapter xix, De habitu chori per totum annum, in Part III of this work, p. 12.

[19] The Salisbury rubric on this head was quoted just now, in note 77. The Use of St. Paul's, London, may be found hereafter, Part III, p. 119.

In the statutes drawn up by Bishop Hugh Pateshull, for the cathedral of Lichfield, c. A.D. 1239, we find it ordered: Capæ de samito, vel tantum de auro, vel alia pretiosa in bona custodia separatim serventur, et nulli vicario tradantur, nisi præcipue in majoribus festis et processionibus. Et vicarii cum capis sericis induerint, eas

The almucia or furred amys was worn by the canons of the upper grade, all the year round, at the church services,[20] both by day and by night: to those in the lower grade, this vesture was allowed

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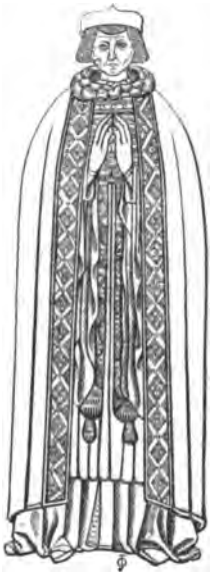
modeste deponant et honeste reponant. Nullus autem vicarius capam sericam sibi oblatam recuset, nec in choro, nec in processione, etc.—*Dugdale's Monast. Anglic.* vol. viii, p. 1258.

To the precentor belonged the office of allotting these copes to the various members of the choir, according to the rank which each one held in the Church: Ad cantoris officium pertinet capas in choro, quotiens gerantur, pro qualitate personarum distribuere.—*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 346, *De Cantore.*

[20] When Du Molinet wrote, A.D. 1666, his small, though rich and well-illustrated work, entitled, *Discours sur les Habits anciens et moderns des Chanoines*, he found it a custom, in some places, not only for the celebrant and his ministers, but for every new priest at his first Mass, to go to the altar having the head covered with a furred amys: J'ay trouvé qu'il y a encor quelques endroits, où les prestres et les ministres allant à l'autel, portent l'aumusse en teste, sur leurs ornements sacrez, et d'autres où les nouveaux prestres s'en servent pareillement aux jours de leurs premières Messes (p. 18). But even a hundred years after, when De Moléon gave his book to the world, the furred amys still continued to be so worn, at high Mass, in Rouen cathedral, during the winter months: Le soudiacre, le diacre, et le célébrant . . . ont en esté l'aumusse sur le bras gauche, et la tête couverte du bonnet quarré, et en hyver pardessus la chasuble ou tunique ils ont l'aumusson, qui leur couvre la tête et les épaules.—*Voy. Liturg.* p. 363.

only at the offices of the choir which were sung by night, and for such individuals it was ordered to be made, not only of a smaller size, but of less costly materials, than the ones in use among the dignified clergy.

But upon those holydays and particular occasions that the dignitaries of a cathedral, or collegiate church, and the parochial clergy, when doctors of divinity, exchanged the simple black woollen cope for the rich silk embroidered one, they still kept on the almucia, which was always made of a fur, and lined and trimmed with a stuff of a colour which proclaimed their rank, and wore it, as the accompanying wood-cut shows, under the splendid processional cope in such a manner, that the upper portion or hood of this furred amys overlapped that part of the top which goes above the neck, and displayed itself, like a broad ruff, over the shoulders. Such, too, was the way in which the rulers or rectors of the choir, even in parish churches that were not collegiate, wore their furred amys along with the cope of silk, when they officiated at Mass, matins, or evensong, on great days.



From the grave-brass of Christopher Urswick, D.D., in Hackney church, Middlesex, A.D. 1521.

Another way of wearing this furred amys was to throw it across either the right or left shoulder, and keep it hanging there as much before as behind, with the hand grasping one end as it had been a little sack. Such a custom arose towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was followed in many places abroad, and perhaps in some, though they must have been but few, here in England.[21]

Now, however, a practice, if not everywhere, yet very widely prevails, of carrying this "almucia" slung upon the lower part of the left arm; but in some churches it is still worn sewed to the canon's cope, like a hood, and spread all about the shoulders.[22]

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[21] In a manuscript book of Hours of the fifteenth century, in my possession, there are, in one of its illuminations, figured two minor canons, having the almucia, shaped in the bag-form as a covering for the head, thrown over the shoulder in such a way, that the end, with the little points or tails hanging all round it, falls behind. But the reader may see many examples of such a custom in the woodcuts, particularly at ff. 2 b. 29, 86, 194, of the valuable *Pontificale Romanæ Ecclesiæ* printed A.D. 1520, in Venice, by Giunta; as well as in those to be found in another important liturgical work, *Sacrar. Cærem. Rom. Eccl. Lib. Tres*, from the same press, A.D. 1582, especially at ff. 167, 180.

[22] Such is the practice at St. Peter's, St. Mary Major's, and St. John Lateran's, at Rome. But in some of the smaller collegiate churches of the Holy City, the canons carry upon the left arm their almucia, which is neither

The hood as it used to be made and worn of yore, both by churchmen and the laity, must not be confounded with the choir almucia or amys: the article of church attire differed, in many ways, from that part to which it answered of the common every-day dress of the period. Then, as now, it happened, though not always, yet often, that in small towns, and especially country churches, the little boys who served the priests at the altar, as well as the parish sexton, were mere lay-folks, not having the tonsure, much less any one of the four minor orders. From such, the same compliance with the canons on the point of dress could not be looked for as from ordained clerks, nor was it asked. Hence came it that those individuals, while going through the offices of the liturgy along with the priesthood, might always be known for secular people by something or another about their garb, either in its colour, its cut, or its materials. Perhaps one of the readiest illustrations of this to be found, is the attire of the youth in our wood-cut, here given from an illumination in

ermine, like that of the upper canons, nor grey, as is the one given to the minor canons of the great basilicas, but of brown skins.

a fine old manuscript Salisbury missal[23] now before me. Over his surplice, this lad wears a hood which, like his cassock, is scarlet, thus showing itself, not only in its shape, but tint, to be an appertenance of the world rather than of the sanctuary.

SECTION X.

After having thus gone through the list of all those ornaments and articles of sacred attire used by the priesthood itself, or by churchmen below that rank in the hierarchy, as were allotted to each order of them according to the place it has given it in the Church's public ministrations, we will now take a short view of such adornments as more especially belong to the episcopate: of these,

THE MITRE

being the first, ought to have our first attention.

Without stopping to try what strength there may be in the proofs upon which is rested the opinion of those who say, that the apostles St. John and St. James wore, each of them, a plate of gold upon his forehead when ministering before the people, let us travel upwards through ecclesiastical history, and a very few hundred years after

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[23] In the possession of Sir Robert Throckmorton, Bart., and described at *note* 64, t. i, p. 421 of this work.

the apostolic age do we meet with facts showing, some indeed indirectly, others however most immediately, that in many places of at least this, the Western Church, during that early period,

BISHOPS WORE GOLDEN CROWNS AT THE DIVINE SERVICE.

Unless in reality such was then the usage, the language of some of our highest ecclesiastical writers would have had no meaning:[94] but all doubt is

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[94] At the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth, century, St. Jerom, a priest, addressed St. Austin, a bishop, thus: Fratres tuos dominum meum Alypium et dominum meum Evodium, ut meo nomine salutes, precor coronam vestram (*Hier. Ep. ad August.* n. 26). The "corona," or crown, here spoken of by St. Jerom, was a something, therefore, not common to himself and St. Austin. St. Austin, however, writing as follows to a brother bishop, talks of the "crown" as of what was common to both of them: Per coronam nostram nos adjurant vestri, et per coronam vestram vos adjurant nostri.—*August. Ep. ad Proculianum*, Ep. n. 147.

Now the tonsure, or cutting away, in the shape of a circle, the hair from the top of the head, being a mark of having left the world worn by all clergymen,—by St. Jerom the priest equally with St. Austin the bishop,—it is clear the "corona" in the above letters did not mean the clerical tonsure; and, not meaning that, must of consequence be understood of some distinctive ornament then worn about the head by a bishop only,—of, in fact, a circlet or crown, most likely made of gold or silver.

Our own Venerable St. Beda, himself but a priest, in

cleared away by the circumstance that, in describing the sacrificial array of the British episcopacy in the sixth century, an author of the period lets us know, that a jewelled diadem of gold on the brow of the bishop, was one of the prelate's chief ministerial ornaments;[25] and such a coronal so

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dedicating one of his works to Eadfrid, a bishop, makes use of the same form of speech while addressing him thus: Vestræ almitatis corona.—*V. Bedæ Op. Hist. Min.*, ed. Stevenson, p. 47, § 2.

But the language of other writers is more precise. Thus of the great St. Ambrose, sang Ennodius, himself a bishop, and a writer of the sixth century, A.D. 511:

Serta redimitus gestabat lucida fronte
Distinctum gemmis ore parabat opus.

—*Ennodii, Epigram. lxxvii*, Op. ed. Sirmondo, p. 622.

Three centuries later, A.D. 794, Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, thus describes the episcopal crown of gold:

Aurea pontificis cingebat lamina frontem
Qua bis binus apex nomen herile dedit.

—Lib. v. carm. iii, v. 610.

In all our ancient forms for the consecration of a bishop, the silence respecting the crown or golden circlet, makes no more against the use, in olden times, of this ornament, than does the same silence in all our ordination services now respecting the clerical cap, which, although it is never formally given by the Church to any of her ministers, is worn, however, by all ranks of them, from the bishop downwards to the lowliest clerk, as a ceremonial part of attire.

[25] In the Life of our British countryman, St. Samson,

gemmed, was actually found about the head of one of our earliest Anglo-Saxon bishops, St. Cuthberht, when his grave was opened in the twelfth century.[26] Besides bishops, abbots too, it would seem, were allowed, during the Anglo-Saxon period of our Church, to have on, most likely but at great solemnities, a circlet of gold, set with precious stones, the shape of which, and way of wearing it, are well shown by this wood-cut of a

its writer, who, if not an actual contemporary with that holy bishop, c. A.D. 565, must have lived but a very short time after him, while affording us a glimpse of the episcopal ornaments in the British hierarchy at that period, as he describes the vision with which St. Samson was favoured, particularly mentions these coronals: Sanctus Samson admirabilem vidit visum. Quadam nocte circumseptari se a delicatis, ac densissimis canditatorum turbis cernit, et tres episcopos egregios diadematibus aureis in capite ornatos, atque holosericis ac pulcherrimis amictos vestibus in faciem sibi adsistere, etc.— *Vita S. Samsonis, ab auctore anonymo subæquali*, apud Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.*, tom. i, p. 165, n. 43.

[26] In fronte sancti pontificis auri lamina non textilis fa-

figure in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional.[27] Our island was not the only country where, during the sixth and following centuries, these golden crowns were used by the prelates of the Church at the celebration of the liturgy; such diadems were employed for a like purpose by those personages in Italy and Germany, and other parts of continental Christendom. By a very old Roman "Ordo" it is directed, that at beginning the Gospel, when the deacon makes upon himself the sign of the cross, the bishop and all the people should do in like manner; then turning themselves reverently towards the Gospel, have, all the while it is being sung, neither crown nor any kind of covering on the head.[28] If, too, it were quite certain that the

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brica, tantummodo forinsecus deaurata, præminet, quæ diversi generis lapidibus preciosis, minutissimis tamen, undique conspersa renitet.—*Reginaldus Dunelmensis, de Admir. S. Cuthberti*, p. 87.

[27] Now at Chatsworth, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, by whom I was kindly indulged with a leisurely inspection of this truly glorious specimen of Anglo-Saxon art.

[28] Et postquam dixerit *Sequentia sancti evangelii*. . et reliqua, facit crucis signum in fronte sua idem diaconus, et in pectore: similiterque episcopus et omnis populus; et revertuntur ad evangelium. Sed et baculi omnium deponuntur de manibus, et in ipsa hora, neque corona, neque aliud operimentum super capita eorum habetur. (*Ordo Romanus* II, ed. Mabillon, *Musei Ital.* tom. ii, pp. 45, 46).

accompanying figure, from the bronze gates put up before St. John the Evangelist's chapel in the baptistery at the Lateran, during the fifth year of Celestine the Third's pontificate, A.D. 1196, were really intended to represent that pope,[29] then herein should we behold an unquestionable proof, that even to the latter end of the twelfth century, the ancient custom

This is the *Ordo* which Amalarius made the ground-work, A.D. 820-830, of his *Ecloga*, in which he says, while treating of the singing of the gospel by the deacon: Neque coronam, neque aliquit (*sic*) operimentum super caput eadem hora tenemus.—Cap. xiii, ed. Georgio, *De Liturgia Rom. Pon.*, tom. iii, p. 350.

When the grave of St. Goslin, abbot of a monastery at Turin, A.D. 1061, was opened, in the year 1472, there was found, along with other ornaments, upon his body, one of these crowns: Conspicit itaque justi et piissimi patris epitaphium, corpusque pallio, corona quam mitram dicimus, et baculo, more majorum decenter contectum.—*Inventio corp. S. Goslini, Abb. AA. SS. Februarii*, tom. ii, p. 632, n. 4.

[29] Ciampini, in his *Vetera Monimenta*, tom. i, p. 239, is

was not altogether laid aside of wearing these episcopal crowns along with the chasuble and other sacerdotal garments.

But these circlets of gold, if often, were not always, the only ornament around the brow of an Anglo-Saxon bishop. Whether through old age, weak health, or bringing to mind how the priesthood under the Aaronic dispensation had its comely head-dress, from feelings that a higher dignity belonged to the Christian episcopate, or perhaps from all these reasons mingling together, certain is it our Anglo-Saxon prelates very soon began to wear upon the head a ceremonial covering formed of a white kerchief, the finest in texture, and called from its use and material the bishop's head-linen,[30] which fitted quite close, and was hindered from slipping off by a long bandage tied behind, so as the two ends of this fastening might be left to fall free and long about the shoulders.[31] From the

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of opinion that this figure was meant for Pope Celestine III, and in it he is followed by Bonanni, *La Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, p. 278; but D'Agincourt thinks, and I agree with him, that it does not represent the Roman pontiff.—*Hist. de l'Art, etc., Sculp.*, pl. xxi, n. 7.

[30] Infula . . . Biscop heafod lin.—*Ælfric's Gloss.* p. 69.

[31] Of this kind, seemingly, were the two bands trimmed with gold (nastolæ ex auro paratæ), noted down among the treasure belonging, A.D. 831, to St. Riquier's church, in Ponthieu; and very likely the "capellum auro paratum" mentioned just afterwards, in the same list, was nothing

words of St. Beda it would seem, at the beginning of the eighth century, the usage here was to wear both crown and linen together:[32] at a later period, however, the linen kerchief with its fillets was often the sole head-covering for a bishop, as we see by this very interesting wood-cut of St. Dunstan, figured in one of our liturgical manuscripts in the British Museum, of the Anglo-Saxon epoch.[33] This illumination furnishes us with the earliest known instance of the

Cotton, Claudius, A. III.

more than a fine white linen kerchief worked all about with gold, to be worn by the bishop of the diocess when he came to officiate at that monastery.—*Descrip. de Thesaur. S. Richarii, Chron. Centul.* ed. D'Achery, *Spicil.* tom. ii, p. 310.

[32] Sive ergo coronulæ fuerint aureæ, claritatem perpetuæ lucis significant: sive fuerint byssinæ, ipsam nostri corporis immortalitatem quæ perennis futura est, figurate denunciant. Et recte sacerdos cum stolis byssinis coronas superadditas gestatur et in continentia ipse sua jugiter æterna præmia meditetur et in prædicatione continentiæ,

shape which the mitre, properly so called, first took in this country towards the latter half of the

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vel bonæ operationis simul eadem gaudia supernæ beatitudinis audientibus promittat.—*Beda*, *De Tabernaculo*, lib. iii, c. viii, op. tom. iv, p. 1263.

[33] From the nimb or circle, betokening endless, heavenly happiness, about the head of St. Dunstan, who died A.D. 988, this illumination could not have been painted sooner than the end of the tenth, or early in the eleventh century. Done, however, at whichever period, we may safely assume it to represent the ritual custom followed by the holy archbishop, of wearing such an attire on the head. Thus it shews the liturgical usage of the Anglo-Saxon church in the tenth century.

At the beginning of an "Evangelisterium," called after St. Nicholas, in the library of Munich, somewhat later in date than the before-mentioned Cotton manuscript, there is figured a bishop, who wears a like kind of close, tight cap, white, and seemingly of linen, all around the lower part of which runs a crimson band; and a stripe of the same colour goes from the middle of the forehead up to the top of the kerchief. This illumination is given by Silvestre in his valuable work, *Paléographie Universelle*, partie iv. The same form of mitre is seen on the head of St. Amand, figured in Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, tom. i, p. 487, from an illuminated manuscript; and the bishops sculptured on an old tomb in Reims cathedral, likewise wear it, as we perceive from the engraving given of this monument by Martene, *Voy. Litt.*, partie ii, p. 81, t. i.

The Anglo-Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Elphege, martyred by the pagan Danes, A.D. 1012, used, on the great festivals of the Church, to wear his pall and

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tenth century; in the next age, the first sproutings, as it were, of the two horns began to show themselves, and Winchester cathedral's very curious font[34] (which, to my thinking, after a leisurely examination of it, is a work of St. Edward the Confessor's reign), lets us see how the mitre here in England arose into two short points, not raised before and behind as now, but right and left over each ear. In the twelfth century, these elevations still held the same place, but instead of being sharp, they were quite blunt, broad, and very low, as the figures from an Anglo-Norman manuscript,[35] on the plate opposite will testify.

But about this very time sprang up those strongly marked and characteristic features which, with but some small variation, have lasted to the present day, in this episcopal adornment. Hitherto no

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mitre all through the day: Quod si præcipua solennitas instaret . . . ipse (Elphegus) autem in vestitu candido, desuper amictus pallio, mitra cæsariem constrictus, diem transigebat, quatenus per exteriorem habitum vestis, interiorem conciret habitudinem virtutis, etc.— *Vita S. Elphegi, Arch. Cant., Mart.* auctore Osberno, c. A.D. 1070, apud *AA. SS. Aprilis*, tom. ii, p. 636.

[34] This font is given in large plates in vol. ii of the *Vetusta Monumenta.*

[35] *MS. Cotton, Nero,* c. iv, in the British Museum, of the Psalter done into Anglo-Norman.

For the obliging use of this plate, I am indebted to the ready kindness of Mr. Shaw, F.S.A.

cleft nor parting at top was discernible: now, however, while the points or rather slightly swelled out elevations were brought, from arising on the right and left sides of the head, to shoot up before and behind, the mitre was so made, that when put on, its two horns, now heightened a little, stood apart one from the other, leaving a wide gap between them. This new shape, which was thus given, towards the end of the twelfth century, to the mitre, is well displayed in this figure of a bishop, taken from a manuscript[36] written and illuminated, towards that period, by an English hand; and the continental writers of the time, while unfolding the hidden symbolic meanings which belong to this article of episcopal array, have drawn its form distinctly to our eyes, in their circumstantial account of all its parts and embellishments.

[36] The limner of this manuscript has fallen into an error in setting the maniple on the right, instead of the left, wrist of the bishop. This precious little codex belongs to Sir William Lawson, Bart.

The ribbon or bandage, which at one time used to be wound about the head, behind which it was knotted to keep fast the mitre, when that covering was nothing more than a closely fitting linen cap, now dwindled into a mere ornament: its two ends, bordered by a deep fringe of scarlet silk or golden thread, were made to be quite flat and stiff, and stretching out to some little length, fell hanging from the back of the mitre upon the bishop's shoulders, and thus became the lappets or pendants. But if a silken or a golden fringe was the ordinary, it was not the exclusive edging of these pendants, for sometimes they had attached to their ends, by light chains of gold or silver, a quantity of little bells, wrought out of these same precious metals.[37]

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[37] Una mitra breudata . . . et ornatur laminis argenteis deauratis et lapidibus insertis . . . et in altero pendulorum deficiunt tres cathenulæ cum karolis argenteis appensis. (*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 315). Una mitra . . . ornata perlis albis per totum campum et flosculis argenteis deaurata (deauratis?) lapidibus insertis ordine spisso et deficit una campanula in uno pendulorum. (*Ib.*) Such bells are found fringeing the pendants to the mitres worn by the Roman pontiffs, about the same time they were used in England; and from an inventory taken A.D. 1295, of the ornaments in the treasury of the Pope's palace, it would seem that the number hanging to each pendant was often five, never more than six: Mitram magnam, etc., et in una de caudis sunt vi balassi . . . et v campanelle, et in alia cauda sunt vj zaffiri . . . et v campanelle. Of another rich

A few years rolled away, and the mitre grew somewhat higher and wider; but while it thus very slowly enlarged, it nowise altered its olden form.

About A.D. 1300, as our wood-cut[38] of Bishop Giffard well shows, the mitre had reached in England, as it did abroad, that becoming size and graceful outline to which it long afterwards steadfastly kept, until towards the second half of the sixteenth century, when classicism in architecture and every kind of ornament, creeping from the palace to the cathedral, pushed mediæval art out of her very home—the Church: soon afterwards, under this new influence, the mitre swelled itself out into a bulging shape, and upstretched its height beyond the bounds of due proportion. But these tall, barrel-waisted, unsightly mitres, made especially in France, are shrinking away before the smaller and more comely ones that are now fashioned, after the restored type of the fourteenth century.

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mitre it is said: In caudis sunt . . . et xii campanelle. Extracts from this inventory are given by Garampi, *Illustrazione di un Sigillo della Garfagnana*, p. 85.

The coronel of strawberry leaves seen round the brow of the archiepiscopal mitre in modern emblazonments of it, is an heraldic imagination of late date,—a Protestant, not a Catholic idea. Now, as in all times back, there is not the slightest difference between the mitre of a bishop, or an archbishop.

[38] See t. i. p. 371.

From the shape, let us go to

THE MATERIAL AND COLOUR OF THE MITRE.

Though it may have been circled round with a hoop of beaten gold, though gems of price did often load its surface, still, from the earliest glimpse which we are enabled to catch of the mitre, as used among our Anglo-Saxon brethren in the faith, since the sainted Beda wrote, up to the end of the twelfth century, we everywhere find that it was made, not of silk, but of nothing more costly than plain (though always the best and whitest) fine linen, of that kind by the older ecclesiastical writers called "byssus",[39] which, during the middle ages,

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[39] Mitra sumitur a lege, quæ thiara, cydaris, infula, pileum appellatur. Ex bysso conficitur, auro et gemmis ornatur, habens duo cornua, duasque lingulas posterius, et fimbrias dependentes inferius. (*Mitrale Sicardi Cremon. Ep. MS. Vatic.* 4975, apud Georgium, *Lit. Rom. Pontiff.* tom. i, p. 234). Sicard wrote c. A.D. 1185. Mitra pontificis scientiam utriusque testamenti significat: nam duo cornua duo sunt testamenta, duæ fimbriæ spiritus et litera. Circulus aureus, qui anteriorem et posteriorem partem complectitur, indicat quod omnis scriba doctus in regno cœlorum de thesauro suo nova profert et vetera. (*Innocentii PP.*, lib. i, cap. lix, *De Sac. Altaris Myst.* c. A.D. 1198). Mitra autem quia linea est, castitatem, candorem, munditiamque significat . . . Bene autem totus a capite usque ad pedes lino operitur episcopus, quia omnis honor ejus et gloria, castitas et munditia est.—*Bruno Signien. Ep. De Consec.*

was known here in England under the name of "buckram". The thirteenth century, however, witnessed new enrichments heaped upon this episcopal appertenance. Though plain white linen continued still to be employed for the making of mitres, yet such as happened to be covered with it were set aside, as now, to be worn during the seasons of penance, and at the mournful and less solemn functions of the Church. Instead of the linen hitherto exclusively employed, the richest silks came to be adopted for this purpose. This was not all: often the ground of the mitre was sown, as it were—entirely overspread with the choicest oriental pearls;[40] and not unfrequently was the

Eccl. ed. D'Achery, *Spicil.* tom. i, p. 448.* Bruno wrote c. A.D. 1086.

Honorius of Autun, A.D. 1130, likewise tells us that the mitre then was made of fine white linen: Mitra pontificalis est sumpta ex usu legis, hæc ex bisso conficitur. . . . Mitra ergo ex bisso facta multo labore ad candorem perducta caput pontificis circundat, dum Ecclesia baptismate mundata, labore bonorum operum candidata, caput suum scilicet Christum in gloria videre anhelat.—*Gemma Animæ*, lib. i, cap. 214.

[40] Hubertus, archiepiscopus, dedit mitram in qua sunt c et dimid. et xxv lapides pretiosi, et iv esmals.—*Thorpe's Regist. Roffense*, p. 121.

Mitra aurea cum perulis infra et extra, et gemmis pretiosis Henrici regis III.

Mitra aurea Johannis de Peckham archiepiscopi, cum gemmis pretiosis.

whole mitre wrought of nothing else but plates of beaten gold and silver.[41] Every art was bid to come and lend its beauty to this sacred diadem: the embroideress was its willing hand-maid, and her needle storied it with saints; the enameller, after his craft, strewed it over with everlasting flowers

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Mitra ejusdem argentea cum ii crucibus super cornua.

Mitræ iv brudatæ et gemmis ornatæ.

Mitræ iii cum perulis ornatæ sine gemmis.

Mitræ ii simplices de bokram.—*Ornam. in Vest. Eccl. Christi Cantuar., Dart's Canterbury,* App. p. xiii.

[41] About the middle of the fourteenth century, all the bettermost sort of mitres were made in England from thin but solid sheets of gold or silver. Such were those worn by the mitred priors of Winchester cathedral: Mitris eciam aurifrisiatis, aureas et argenteas laminas et gemmas preciosas habentibus, baculo pastorali, cirothecis aurifrisiatis, et anulo in digito, tunica, dalmatica, sandaliis et aliis insigniis pontificalibus . . . usi sumus.—*Hist. Dunelmensis, Scriptores Tres,* Append. p. cliv.

In the latter times of Catholic England, a distinction was made by our churchmen between mitres of the old and the new make. Those formed of thin but solid sheets of gold or silver, were called "standing mitres"; those of thick parchment, covered with white silk, or a web of small seed-pearls, fell under the denomination of "mitres after the old fashion." Hence we read in the Winchester inventory of Henry VIII's reign, of "three standing mitres of silver and gilt, garnished with pearls and precious stones; ten old mitres, garnished with pearls and stones, after the old fashion."—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. i, p. 202, new ed.

and devices, and wreathed it about with bands of beautiful design in lively and unfading colours; the jeweller sprinkled it with the light from every precious stone,—with the soft green rays of the emerald—with the fire of the burning ruby—the blue beams of the sky-lit sapphire, and the golden twinklings of the yellow topaz. Nor was the worker in the costly metals behind the rest with the cunning of his elegant mystery: when he was asked to fashion a rich mitre out of gold or silver, he wrought those two thin, though solid, sheets of which it was to be made up, out of the precious metal, in such a way, that they not only opened and shut with utmost readiness by means of gimmels or hinges, light though strong, in their frame and nicely adjusted at the sides, but so bent themselves upon the wearer's venerable brow, as to sit with ease upon it: two other gimmels held loosely, yet securely, the lappets as they swung behind; and all up the edges of the mitre, this master of his art taught to creep a purfling of crockets in silver, the thin, leaf-like, veined appearance of which, cut as they were, and tooled to look so light, so sharp, so crispy, that they would be gazed on now as a marvel—a very miracle of handicraft, and perhaps might baffle many, if not most, workmen of the present day to imitate them.[42]

[42] Una pretiosissima et magna mitra, cum duobus pend. auro circumdata et lapidibus pretiosis, saphiris et rubeis,

To learn how rich and beautiful were our old English mitres, we have only to look at the very few remains which still exist of one of them;[43] and

valoris septingentarum marcarum per æstimationem, ex dono Thomæ Rotheram archiepiscopi Eborum. (*Invent. Ornam. ad Eccl. Cath. Ebor. pertin. Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* vol. viii, p. 1203). From what we are told (*Ib.* p. 1286) of "the jewels belonging to my Lord of Lincoln's miter," it must have been covered with pearls and precious stones, and one of the most splendid in Europe. Amid a quantity of other church plate sacrilegiously carried off from Fountain's Abbey by the royal pilferer, Henry VIII, were: One mitre, having the edges of silver and gilt, and set with round pieces of silver, white like pearl, and flowered of silver and gilt in midward, weight twelve ounces! One mitre of silver gilt, and set with pearl and stone; weight seventy ounces.—*Dugdale's Mon.* vol. v, p. 290.

Precious stones on a mitre, a hallowed vessel, or in any thing for the house of God, should not be cut as ladies' jewels are, in facets, but *en cabochon*, that is, in the unbroken, pebble-like shape. Apart from the difference which ought always to distinguish the sacred from the secular, even in ornament, there is greater broadness of colour and depth of tint, a something grander, in gems when set in the smooth elliptical form. The jewels upon every kind of church ornaments were invariably mounted *en cabochon* during the mediæval period. This should be minded by such as have the making of vessels for the altar.

[43] Judging from its fragments, which I have more than once seen at New College, Oxford, the mitre bequeathed to that house by its magnificent founder, William of Wykeham, must have been as rich as it was beautiful. The

cast an eye upon the list of sacred ornaments that once, and in happier times, adorned the cathedral churches of this country.

With regard to

THE COLOUR OF THE OLD MITRE,

from everything we know about this liturgic covering for the head, ever since it began as a piece of

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ground was of what, from their smallness, were called seed-pearls, sewed with great regularity upon white silk; all around the lower part went a band of enamels linked together by hinges, so as to leave them free to bend; and up the middle, both before and behind, ran a stripe composed most likely of the same ornaments. There were silver gimmels at the sides; and all the edges were purfled with a border of exquisitely wrought crockets in silver gilt. Of course there were jewels, but they are gone.

About a hundred years ago there was still to be seen, in Belgium, one of our fine, precious, old English mitres, quite entire. Among other things which were shewn to Martene on his visit to the monastery of Cambron, that learned liturgist especially mentions: La belle mitre qu'un évêque de Gand, qui avoit besoin d'argent, vendit à un abbé de Cambron, quoyqu'elle soit couverte de perles et de pierres précieuses. On dit qu'elle est venuë autrefois d'Angleterre (*Voyage Litt.* partie ii, p. 108). At Rieux, in the south of France, Martene was shewn another beautiful English mitre: Nous vîmes dans la sacristie une fort belle mître, que (Monseig. Bertier dernier évêque) avoit achetée d'un Anglais, et dont il fit présent à son église, ordonnant qu'on s'en serviroit les grandes fêtes.—*Ib.* p. 35.

plain, simple linen, wrapped around the brows of the aged bishop, unto its actual shape, it is evident, that excepting when made from hard gold, beaten into thin plates, or of cloth of gold, its ground-colour was invariably white.[44] Such a tradition,

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[44] All the old known mitres still in existence have a white ground. St. Thomas of Canterbury's, figured by Shaw, vol. i of his *Dresses and Decorations;* an abbot's,—very low in form,—kept along with other curious things in the archives-room at Bruges cathedral; and the remains of William of Wykeham's, in New College, Oxford, are such. The Limerick mitre, which Shaw has also given, is made of thin but solid plates of silver, studded with many precious stones. All the bishops represented on the walls of the old painted chamber at Westminster, wear white mitres (See *Gage Rokewode's Descrip.* in the *Vetusta Mon.* t. vi, pl. xxxvii). Full of liturgical interest is a beautiful picture belonging to Mr. Eastlake, and painted in oils by some unknown but able Flemish artist of the fifteenth century. It is thought to represent the burial of our St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. Of the mitres figured in it, all are white; two seemingly of thick silk, purfled with golden crockets; the third all overspread with pearls. The striking bluish whiteness of two albs in this picture is not a caprice of the painter's, but done, as I think, to shew that those garments were of silk, not linen, with the creamy tint of which, as seen in the acolyte's curiously-made surplice, the blueness of the silk is well contrasted.

The two mitres once belonging to St. Denys, near Paris, and figured in Félibien's history of that abbey, plate 1, had a ground of small pearls, and were studded with precious stones.

too, is studiously kept up at the present day by the Roman ritual, which allows not of red, green, purple, or black mitres, but specifically tells us

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In the *Ordo Romanus xiii*, drawn up by command of Pope Gregory X, A.D. 1271, the white colour of the mitre and its three kinds, plain and enriched, according to the feast-day upon which each had to be worn, is clearly laid down: Dominus Papa tres mitras diversas habet, quibus diversis temporibus utitur; scilicet unam albam totam, unam cum aurifrisio in titulo sine circulo, et mitram aurifrisiatam in circulo et in titulo. Mitra aurifrisiata in circulo et in titulo utitur in officiis diebus festis et aliis . . . Mitra vero cum aurifrisio in titulo sine circulo, utitur cum sedet in consistorio . . . Alba utitur diebus dominicis et aliis non festivis (*Mabillon, Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 232, n. 12). The "titulus" is the stripe of gold running up the middle of the mitre. In our inventories of church-ornaments we never find mention made of any coloured mitres; they are always either white, or of gold:

Una mitra alba cum stellis et grossis lapidibus.

Una mitra alba breudata cum stellis et frecturis et octo lumbis in circulo de purpura ornata lapidibus et flosculis.—*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 315.

A rich myter w^t^ golde, peerlys, and p̃cious stones (pertin. priori et conventui).

A myter amelde (enameled) w^t^ p̃cious stones.

A myter w^t^ peerlys, called the white myter.—*Inventory of plate belonging to the Priory of Worcester*, A.D. 1540, *Green's Hist. of Worcester*, t. ii, Append. p. v.

Una mitra de albo serico cum rebaud. de auro.

Una mitra de albo serico ornata cum argento deaurato, in circumferentiis cum pretiosis lapidibus, etc. – *Invent.*

that there are three sorts of bishop's mitre: the first is called the rich one, because it is adorned with gems and precious stones, and often made out of sheets of gold and silver: the second, is the gold embroidered mitre, which has no gems nor plates of gold or silver upon it, but, for its orna-

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Ornam. ad Ecc. Cath. Ebor. pertin. A.D. 1510, *Dugdale's Mon.* vol. viii, p. 1203.

I am aware that examples, though few and far between, of red mitres can be pointed out. In a sixteenth-century stained-glass window at St. Jacques, Liege, and upon a late tomb in Maidstone church, Kent, a crimson-tinted mitre, edged with gold, appears. Let not, however, the young student in ecclesiastical antiquities be led astray upon this or another question, touching the colour of the vestments, by such weak authority. The Belgian window is of that gaudy, fantastic age of art known as the "cinquecento," or "renaissance"; our English instance of sculpture is of the latest mediæval period. But works of that time are, by themselves, never to be trusted as the faithful likenesses of the things they figure, and especially where colouring is concerned. Works of that epoch were done, not by men who were churchmen as well as painters and sculptors, but under artists uncontrolled by the clergy; under those who, even if they happened to know the rules and the symbolism of the ritual, overlooked both for the sake of producing what they thought effect and contrast in colours. To the mere painter, crimson would be deemed much better than white as a ground for a mitre, to bring out its golden trimmings and its jewels, as well as to heighten the whole effect of the window, or stone monument, as a work of art in colouring.

ment, a few small pearls, and is made out of white silk wrought with gold, or of simple cloth of gold, but without any plates of that precious metal, or pearls upon it: the third, which is called the plain mitre, is without any gold, being covered with plain silk damask, or other stuff, even linen or white cloth, with red edging or fringe to the hanging lappets.[45]

The use of the mitre was not confined to bishops: Roman cardinals, in virtue of their dignity, though not even priests; abbots of great houses, by especial privilege granted by the supreme pontiff; the canons of some highly-favoured cathedrals[46] were

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[45] *Cœremoniale Episcoporum*, lib. i, cap. xvii.

[46] To the canons in a few of the great churches in western Christendom, the Holy See had granted the privilege of robing themselves for the divine service in all things just like Roman cardinals. In some cathedrals, however, such as that of Pisa, and at Lisbon, all the full canons are admitted to this honour; in most others, such as those of Magdeburg, Cologne, Mentz, and Treves, it was confined to a limited number,—to seven priests, seven deacons, and as many subdeacons, all of whom wore mitres along with the rest of the cardinalitial vesture. All the canons of Bamberg cathedral were allowed to have the mitre.—*AA. SS. Junii*, t. iii, p. 871.

To the provost of St. Die's collegiate church, at the foot of Mount Vosge, St. Leo IX, c. A.D. 1048-1054, besides the use of the mitre and other pontifical ornaments, accorded the especial privilege of wearing, over his alb, tunicle, and dalmatic, a silken net-like ornament, falling all around the

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allowed to put on this along with some other ornaments, such as the dalmatic, tunicle, gloves, and sandals, distinctive of the episcopate. Nay, but half a century ago, there were churches in France wherein priest, deacon, and subdeacon, at high Mass, used each to wear a mitre: so did the precentor and rulers of the choir, or chanters, while about the Divine service, on great festivals.[47]

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body, from the girdle downwards to the feet, and called the "Rete", from being fashioned like a net. This we learn from one of its canons, Riguet, who tells us: Ex institutione Leonis IX, qui majoris præpositi titulum et officium aliquando apud nos gessit, factum creditur, ut successoribus pontificaliter officiantibus pedum et mytra sit, cum peculiari quoque ornamento sericeo, in formam piscatorii retis cooperiente albam, tunicellam atque dalmaticam, a cingulo usque ad pedes, quod vulgo Reté vocant, retiatum Latine diceremus. In tali ornatu assistit præpositus solenniorum dierum officiis.—*Riguetus*, apud *AA. SS. Junii*, t. iii, p. 871.

[47] A S. Maurice de Vienne, à la messe du chœur, le célébrant, le diacre et le soudiacre ont des mîtres aux jours solennels (*Voy. Liturg.* p. 10). A la grand messe du chœur . . . le célébrant, le diacre et le soudiacre chanoines, aussi bien que les deux chappiers quand ils sont chanoines, se servent de mîtres, à S. Vincent de Mâcon (*Ib.* p. 147). Les chanoines de l'église collégiale de S. Pierre de Mâcon ont aussi l'usage de la mître quand ils officient au grand autel. (*Ib.*) That such a ritual custom was of very long standing in France, we gather from an observation made by Richard, Archdeacon of Poictiers, A.D. 1163, and re-

Not only the abbots over our greater houses, but even the priors in several monasteries attached to our cathedral churches, had asked for, and gotten from Rome, a privilege for wearing, in the celebration of the liturgy, all the episcopal adornments —the mitre, the ring, the pastoral staff, the tunicle, the dalmatic, the gloves, the sandals. These ornaments, the mitre more especially, the monks often chose to have made after a kind the richest and most costly; and never heeding whether the bishop of the diocess were there or not, celebrated the Divine service in his cathedral thus episcopally arrayed. The bishops, with reason, loudly complained of this to Rome, and bewailed in becoming speech that such an unseemly inroad on their preeminence should be let go forwards, with an assurance to the Pontiff that it raised up no small scandal among the people, and very much lowered the dignity of the episcopate, observing at the same time, how many priors of the cathedral churches in various parts of the country would not put on such ornaments, lest they might seem to be on the same level with their bishops. Acknowledging the truth and justice of the episcopal pro-

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corded by our Matthew Paris in these words: Quod audiens Pictavensis archidiaconus, "Meus," inquit, "vicarius in ecclesia beati Hilarii incedit mitratus in omnibus præcipuis anni solemnitatibus, nec derogat mitra episcopali dignitati."—*Vitæ S. Albani Abbatum*, p. 57.

tests, the holy See forbade all our abbots and priors to use, when their diocesan was present, any pontifical ornament, and even in his absence to employ other than the simple white mitre, or, at most, the one of gold cloth, but without precious stone, jewel, or costly adornment of any sort upon it. After a time, the monks wearied the Pope with fresh supplications, and the above decree was so far recalled to please them, that even a prior might, with the bishop present in his own cathedral, wear the cloth of gold mitre ungarnished with either pearl or jewel, along with the ring; but when that personage was away, then could the prior come forth vested in all the pontifical array.[48] In the instance

[48] The *Privilegia concessa Priori Ecclesiæ Wigorn. per Sedem Apostolicam*, printed by Wilkins, throw much valuable light upon this question, as regards England. In the year 1351, John of Evesham, Prior of Worcester cathedral church, had obtained from Pope Clement VI the privilege, for himself and successors, of wearing the mitre, etc.; and Pope Urban V added his confirmation of it, A.D. 1363, in the manner following: Urbanus episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Johanni de Evesham Priori ecclesiæ Wigorn. etc. Clemens Papa sextus . . . tibi et successoribus tuis prioribus ecclesiæ Wigorn. ordinis sancti Benedicti . . . indulsit, ut tu et iidem successores tui mitra, annulo, baculo, tunica, et dalmatica, pastoralibus uti, et benedictionem solennem in Missa et mensa dare libere valeatis, etc. Et licet, sicut exhibita nobis pro parte tua petitio continebat multi abbates et priores in regno Angliæ existentes, etiam non exempti, quibus a sede Apostolica

of Worcester cathedral, its prior's staff was a "bordonus", or stiff wand of silver, ending, not with a crook, but with a knob.

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concessum erat, ut mitra uti possent tam in episcoporum suorum præsentia quam eorum absentia, mitris uti solerent laminis argenteis et gemmis preciosis ornatis; tamen postmodum pro parte . . . Reginaldi episc. Wigorniensis extitit suggestum . . . Innocentio Papæ sexto . . . quod si tu et successores tui vigore indulti hujusmodi mitra et baculo aureas vel argenteas laminas seu gemmas preciosas habentibus, et aliis ornamentis prædictis in ejus præsentia uteremini, non modicum in populo scandalum generaretur, et pontificali dignitati quamplurimum derogaretur; quodque multi priores cathedralium ecclesiarum dicti regni Angliæ ornamentis talibus non utebantur ne pares eorum episcopis viderentur; præfatus Innocentius prædecessor, ipsius Reginaldi supplicationibus inclinatus . . . declaravit quod tu et successores, prædicti hujusmodi indulti vigore, mitra, et aliis ornamentis prædictis in præsentia Reginaldi episcopi et successorum suorum episcoporum Wigorniensium nullatenus, in eorum vero absentia mitra alba et etiam aurificata sine lapidibus tamen et gemmis preciosis et alio precioso ornamento tantummodo uti possetis.

Nos igitur . . . tuis in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati . . . indulgemus, ut tu et iidem successores tui, in episcopi Wigorniensis præsentia, mitra aurificata gemmarum et perlarum ornamenta non habente necnon annulo; in ejusdem vero episcopi absentia, mitra etiam perlarum et gemmarum ornatum habente, annulo, tunica, dalmatica, sandaliis et chirothesis episcopalibus ac bordono argenteo, botonum argenteum habente in capite absque alio ornatu, uti, et benedictionem solennem dare in missa . . . libere valeatis,

Besides the mitre, the Roman Pontiff frequently wears what was called the "regnum", but is now better know as

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etc. (*Wilkins, Concil.* t. iii, p. 201.) From these and other documents, such as those given in the Appendix (pp. cxlvii, cliv) to the *Hist. Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, we learn, that it was not before the middle of the fourteenth century the great monasteries of England sought more particularly to get for their abbots or priors the privilege of the mitre and other pontifical ornaments.

To understand thoroughly what great privileges came with the precious mitre, the reader should know that complaints had been often and justly made that, while sitting in council, the mitred abbot could not be, as he ought, distinguished in anything from the bishops of the Church. To do away with such an unseemly disorder, Pope Clement IV, A.D. 1267, decreed, that henceforward, whensoever present at council or synod, all exempt abbots should wear no richer mitre than the gold-embroidered one, having neither precious stones, nor plates of gold or silver on it; unexempt abbots, the plain white mitre: in every other place, the exempt abbot might assume that kind of mitre which had been especially allowed him by the Apostolic See (*Catalani, Pontificale Romanum*, t. i, p. 257). An abbot became "exempt" when, by an especial favour, his monastery was withdrawn from the canonical jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocess it stood, and it as well as all its inmates were answerable to no other ecclesiastical tribunal than that of Rome. All such grants and exemptions are very unwise, being certain to make, sooner or later, wide breaches in ecclesiastical discipline; and under all circumstances, instead of strengthening, weaken that meek-

THE TIARA,

which, like the bishop's mitre, has had its changes in shape, and increase of adornment. At what pre-

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ness and lowliness of heart, which a monastic life ever strives to teach its followers. So true indeed is this, that the statutes of some orders have forbidden their abbots to use pontificals, though privileged before to do so, alleging this reason: Ne forsan ex ipsis supercilium elationis quis assumat, aut sibi videatur sublimis, etc. (*Innocentii III, PP.* lib. i, *Epist.* p. 118; *de Stat. Ord. Præmonstratensis*); and St. Bernard writes in as strong language, while he blames those abbots of the order who were seeking to get themselves exempt, and win from Rome the permission to use pontificals. "Miror," says the great saint, "quosdam in nostro ordine monasteriorum abbates hanc humilitatis regulam odiosa contentione infringere, et sub humili (quod pejus est) habitu et tonsura tam superbe sapere, ut cum ne unum quidem verbulum de suis imperiis subditos prætergredi patiantur, ipsi propriis obedire contemnant episcopis" (*S. Bernardi Abb. Epist.* xlii, seu *Opusculum* ii; *De Moribus et Off. Episcoporum*, cap. ix, n. 33; *Op.* t. i, p. 405. Parisiis, 1836): Verum aperte indicant quidam horum quid cogitent, dum multo labore ac pretio apostolicis adeptis privilegiis, per ipsa sibi vindicant insignia pontificalia, utentes et ipsi more pontificum, mitra, annulo, atque sandaliis. Sane si attenditur rerum dignitas, hanc monachi abhorret professio: si ministerium, solis liquet congruere pontificibus (*Ibid.* p. 406, n. 36). The many-headed evil growing out of these exemptions was seen and deeply regretted, not only by St. Bernard in France, but in this country too, and among the monks themselves, one of whom, Jocelin de

cise time the popes assumed the tiara cannot be well ascertained. Bruno of Segni[49] mentions it in the

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Brakelond, almoner of St. Edmundsbury, thus speaks of it: Venit rumor ad abbatem H(ugonem) quod R(ichardus) archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vellet venire (A.D. 1176) ad scrutinium faciendum in ecclesia nostra auctoritate legatie sue; et, accepto consilio, misit abbas Romam et impetravit exemcionem a potestate predicti legati. Redeunte nuntio ad nos de Roma, non erat unde solvi poterat quod ipse promiserat domino Pape et cardinalibus, nisi ex circumstantiis crux que erat super magnum altare, et Mariola, et Johannes, quas imagines Stigandus archiepiscopus magno pondere auri et argenti ornaverat, et sancto Ædmundo dederat. Dixerunt etiam quidam ex nostris qui abbatem familiarius diligebat, quod ipsum feretrum sancti Ædmundi deberet excrustari propter talem libertatem, non advertentes magnum periculum posse nasci de tali libertate; quod si forte aliquis abbas noster qui res ecclesie voluerit dilapidare et conventum suum male tractare, non erit persona cui conventus possit conqueri de injuriis abbatis, qui nec episcopum, nec archiepiscopum, nec legatum timebit, et impunitas ausum prebebit delinquendi (*Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, ed. Rokewode, p. 4). Though by no means the first, yet a remarkable and conspicuous example of an exempt abbot in England, was that of John of Hertford, chosen abbot of St. Alban's, A.D. 1235. The whole process of his election is given at full length, under the title of "Modus constituendi abbatem exemptum," in *Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Brit.* t. i, p. 631.

[49] After noticing the bishop's mitre, St. Bruno says of the pope's tiara: Summus autem Pontifex propter hoc et regnum portat, sic enim vocatur; et purpura utitur, non

eleventh century, and from what he, besides Pope Innocent III,[50] says of this covering for the head, it would appear to have been looked upon in their days as the symbol of temporal and regal sway, not of spiritual and priestly power. The papal tiara, as this wood-cut (as well as another at p. 467, t. i) shows, was at first a conical cap, ending at top in a small round ball, and wreathed about the forehead with a single crown of gold.[51]

The Pope, wearing the old tiara of one crown. A Bishop.
MS. Reg. 2, B. VII, in the British Museum.

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per significationem ut puto, sed quia Constantinus Imperator olim Beato Silvestro omnia Romani Imperii insignia tradidit: unde et in magnis processionibus omnis ille apparatus Pontifici exhibetur qui quondam Imperatori fieri solebat.—*Bruno Signien. Ep. De Consecrat. Eccl.* D'Achery, *Spicil.* t. i, p. 443.

[50] In his sermon on St. Silvester, Pope Innocent III says: Romanus itaque Pontifex in signum imperii utitur *regno*, et in signum pontificii utitur mitra, sed mitra semper utitur, et ubique; regno autem nec ubique, nec semper, quia pontificalis auctoritas et prior est et dignior et diffusior quam imperialis.

[51] That such was the olden form of the pontifical mitre,

So it continued to be adorned until the pontificate of Boniface VIII, A.D. 1294-1303, who added to it

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we may see in a very curious liturgical roll, an illumination from which Gerbert has published at the end of his first volume, *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*. The pope is sitting on a faldstool, and wears a triangular-shaped mitre, which is strongly contrasted by the low mitre with two short very blunted points, worn by a bishop who is standing on the left, and much like the mitres in our plate at p. 99 of this volume. That there may be no mistake, the word "Papa" is written, like the rest of this manuscript, in Longobardic character, over the pontiff's head. This valuable roll was, and perhaps may still be, in the Barberini library, at Rome.

From this particular form of mitre having been adopted at an early period, exclusively by the Roman pontiff, came the practice of putting it always upon the figure of the first in the long line of popes—St. Peter. Hence, in most of our English monastic seals, whereon the Prince of the Apostles happens to be figured, he is made to have on such a mitre, with the only addition of a crown around the brow of it, as we may behold in several fine abbatial seals, some of which are engraved in the new edition of *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, as that for Peterborough (t. i, pl. v), for Athelney (t. ii, pl. xiii), for Hyde (*ib.* pl. xiv). Unaware of this, some antiquaries meeting with figures much broken, especially about the head, where a tapering mitre might easily be shattered, and finding the remains of a crown upon what is instantly known for a bishop, have been sadly puzzled to account for this seemingly regal mark of distinction, and to assign the fragment of ancient mediæval art to the right personage.

a second crown; and but a few years afterwards, Urban V completed its decoration by bestowing on it another coronal. But the tiara with its triple crown always kept to its first and olden sharply-pointed form; and it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that it quite exchanged its straight for an oval shape, swelling out somewhat broad at top. Beneath the mitre and tiara, bishop and pontiff were accustomed to have on a closely-fitting skull-cap, which is well shown in some of our wood-cuts.[52]

SECTION XI.

Amid the appliances once needed at solemn high Mass, more especially when sung by a bishop, there was ever to be seen a

COMB,

usually of ivory, sometimes quite plain, but at others adorned with elaborate carving, and even gemmed with precious stones. Combs of such a kind were often to be found kept among those costly things belonging to the sacristy of some of

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[52] Particularly in those, t. i, pp. 336, 443, 444. The cap, made of crimson velvet or satin, edged with ermine, and called "camelacium," worn by the Roman pontiffs not many years ago, was the same kind of covering for the head.

the greater churches abroad,[53] or reckoned up along with the sacred ornaments in an Anglo-Saxon minster,[54] and, during later times, in an old English cathedral.[55]

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[53] In the treasury at Sens cathedral, they still have a fine large ivory comb, sculptured with the figures of animals and adorned with precious stones. On it are cut these words, PECTEN SANCTI LUPI, and the belief is, it once belonged to that holy bishop, who sat in the see of Sens a part of the sixth century. Another French prelate, Riculf, bequeathed, A.D. 915, to those who should come after him in his bishopric, among other liturgical ornaments: Pectenem eburneum unum (*Test. Riculfi Epis.* ed. Baluzio, in App. ad *Reginonem Prumien.* p. 626). Among the chapel furniture enumerated in his will by that holy nobleman, Everard, who died A.D. 937, in Belgium, we read of: Pipam auream unam . . . pecten vero auro paratum unum, flavellum argenteum unum.—*Testam. Evrardi Comitis*, ed. D'Achery, *Spicil.* t. ii, p. 877.

[54] Along with several other sacred appliances once belonging to St. Cuthberht, and put along with his body in the coffin, was his comb, of which Reginald thus speaks: Habet (S. Cuthbertus) secum in sepulchro altare argenteum . . . forpices adhuc priscæ novitatis gratiam retinentes . . . ubi cum pectine ejus eburneo hactenus conservantur quod in medio perforatur, ita ut tres pene digiti in eo possint leviter infundi, cujus magnitudo cum consimili latitudine videtur decenter extendi. Nam longitudo latitudini pene cœsequatur, nisi quod pro ornatu altera alteri in aliquo dissimilatur (*De Admir. S. Cuthberti Virtut.* p. 89). By these latter words of Reginald, it is evident that St. Cuthberht's comb must have been broader than it was long. Another

If it was a bishop who pontificated, the deacon and subdeacon combed his hair as soon as his san-

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ivory episcopal comb, longer than it is broad, measuring 6¼ inches in height, by 4½ inches in width, was found in a bishop's grave at Durham cathedral, A.D. 1827, and may be seen figured, full size, in *Raine's St. Cuthbert*, pl. vii. St. Neot's comb is thus described by Leland: Pecten S. Neoti ex ossiculo duos digitos lato insertis piscium denticulis instar maxillæ lupi fluviatilis.—*Collect.* t. iii, p. 13.

[55] The "pecten eburneum" which Archbishop Hubert left to his cathedral of Canterbury, was thought worth a notice by Gervase (*Acta Pontif. Cant.* ed. Twysden, t. ii, p. 1684); and the Sarum inventory, drawn up half a century later, A.D. 1222, enumerates: Pectines v eburnee exceptis iis qui sunt ad altaria (Part III of this work, p. 105). St. Paul's cathedral, London, had, A.D. 1295: Tres pectines eburnei spissi et magni et tres tenues et usuales de ebore. Item, unum pecten eburneum pulchrum de dono Johannis de Chishulle. Item duo pectines eburnei sufficientes. Et memorandum quod ad cistam coram cruce est unum pecten eburneum et unum vas cristallinum ornatum argento cum reliquiis (*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 316). At a visitation to the treasury in Canterbury cathedral, A.D. 1315, among other precious ornaments for that church's use, were: Pecten unus aureus Henrici regis III, gemmis ornatus cum nigro camau et garnettis quadratis. Pecten eburneus cum lamine argenteo et deaurato cum gemmis ex utraque parte. VI pectines eburnei (*Dart's Canterbury, Append.* XV). In the list of relics which the monk of Durham, Richard de Segbrok, found hanging round St. Cuthberht's shrine, when he was appointed its keeper, A.D. 1383, are noticed: the comb of Malachias the archbishop.

dals had been put on his feet, while sitting on his faldstool;[56] if a priest celebrated, the same office of the comb was done for him as he sat within his niched seat—the first of those three sedilia in the

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Item, the comb of St. Boysil the priest (*Raine's St. Cuthbert*, p. 127); "the ivory comb of St. Dunstan" was also there (*ibid.* p. 125). Among many other rich church-ornaments carried off from Glastonbury monastery by Henry VIII, was "a combe of golde, garnishede with small turquases and other course stones, weinge with the stones viii oz. di."—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* tom. i, p. 63, new ed.

[56] One of the rubrics in the pontifical written out by order of Ratold, abbot of Corby, before the year 986, directs: Deinde ministretur ei (episcopo) aqua ad manus et pecten ad caput, after putting on the episcopal tunic (*Missa Vetus ex codice Ratoldi*, ed. Menardo, in *Append. ad Lib. Sacram. S. Gregorii*, p. 261). In the chapter, "De his quæ observanda sunt circa mysterium quando episcopus cardinalis Missarum sollemnia celebrat," in the *Ordo Romanus*, drawn up by cardinal J. Gaëtano just at the closing of the thirteenth century, occurs this passage: Sunt necessaria pro persona pontificis pecten et tobalea circumponenda collo ejus quando pectinatur (*Mabillon, Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 288); and further on, in the same "Ordo", it is directed: Ipso pontifice super faldistorio residente, diaconus et subdiaconus accipientes ab acolythis tobaleam suam et pecten, extendant tobaleam circa collum et caput ejus leviter et decenter pectinent, videlicet primo diaconus a parte dextra, deinde subdiaconus a sinistra (*ibid.* p. 292). Durand writes: Caligis et sandaliis impositis pontifex et sacerdos caput pectinat.—*Rationale*, lib. iv, cap. iii, n. 1.

presbytery, to be observed in most of our English old parish churches, built of stone, against the southern wall of the chancel.[57]

SECTION XII.

Though holding such a very high place among pontifical appertenances, and often spoken of by writers on ecclesiastical and civil history, the origin of

THE PALL

has not been sufficiently well searched after by liturgists and church antiquaries: few, I imagine, suspect that this archiepiscopal appendage is the true and only representative of the Roman toga; and yet its legitimate descent from that ancient classic garment can be accurately traced up.

For almost the last thousand years the shape of the pall has undergone few if any changes in western Christendom, and every archbishop of the

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[57] From a ritual belonging, A.D. 1360, to the church of Viviers, in the south of France, we gather, that the celebrant's hair was combed by the deacon, not only in the vestry, but several times during divine service: Sacra celebraturus sedet dum in choro *Kyrie, Gloria* et *Credo* decantantur; unde quoties assurgebat, ipsi capillos pectebat diaconus amoto ejus capello seu almucio, licet id officii jam in secretario antequam ad altare procederet, sollicite ei præstitisset.—*Du Cange* in verbo *Sedes Majestatis.*

Latin rite, when vested in his full pontificals for singing solemn high Mass, wears about his shoulders a pall, nothing different, except in the length of the band hanging down before and behind, from that same badge of ecclesiastical dignity figured on the person of St. Dunstan, p. 97. Now, as then, it is woven of plain white lamb's wool,[58] and marked in

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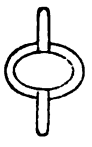
[58] In noticing the garments found upon St. Gregory the Great's body, when that illustrious pontiff's grave was opened, c. A.D. 827, John the Deacon, who wrote his life some fifty years after, towards A.D. 875, tells us: Pallium ejus bysso candente contextum nullis fuisse cernitur acubus perforatum, sic ipsum circa scapulas obvolutum fuisse, non autem confixum dignoscitur. . . . Quod autem reliquiarum philacteria tenui argento fabricata vilique pallio de collo suspensa fuisse videntur, habitus ejus mediocritate demonstratur. Porro in exilitate balthei quæ unius pollicis mensuram numquam excedit speciem propositi regularis olim à sancto Benedicto statuti . . . eum servasse luce clariùs manifestat (*S. Gregorii Papæ Vita, auctore Johanne Diac.* lib. iv, cap. lxxx, inter *Op. S. Gregorii*, tom. iv, p. 175. Parisiis, 1705). De Bralion, and other writers on the subject, behold in this "pallium" of St. Gregory, the liturgical ornament known at present exclusively under such a name. To me it looks no other than the common every-day cloak of that saint, which was worn by him, not like the higher classes of men in those times—fastened with a brooch, more or less curiously wrought, as we may see in the monuments of the period—but in the way poorer people then did, unpinned, and wrapped about his shoulders: the same lowliness of thought, with regard to dress, shewed

several places with a cross, and is at present, as it has been for many ages past, fastened by three pins, one on the left shoulder, another on the breast, and another on the back, over the chasuble; spread out flat, it takes this shape.



Towards the end of the sixth century, at the period when St. Gregory the Great was head of God's Church upon earth, and when St. Austin came from Rome to Kent, such was not, however, either the shape of the Roman pall, or the mode of wearing it. This ornament was then a long straight band, in width somewhat broader than now, and so put on, that being thrown loosely about the neck of the bishop, it hung half way down his breast and back, and met upon the left shoulder in a manner that allowed one end to droop before, the other behind his person, as may be seen on SS. Maximianus and Ecclesius,[59] each in

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itself in the pontiff's "baltheum," or girdle, which was of the plainest and the narrowest; hence nothing can be drawn from the garments in which St. Gregory was found clothed, to prove that his liturgic pall was made, not of wool, but "byssus," or thin linen.

[59] Shown in our wood-cut, vol. i, p. 319, of the present work. The earliest known description of the pall well agrees with the shape and falling down the breast of this ornament, as we behold it on the persons of those two archbishops of Ravenna; for the writer of a very curious treatise on the liturgy, as celebrated in Gaul during the

his day archbishop of Ravenna, about the middle of the sixth century, and in the illuminations of some of the early liturgical codices. Such, no doubt, was the way in which our archbishops of Canterbury and York, for a century or two after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, wore theirs; and at the present time, after this same fashion is it that throughout the Greek Church every bishop (for there, all bishops are allowed this adornment) still continues to put on his pall or "omophorion".

In going back to the rise of the pall, our readers should be told that the old Roman toga was a kind of white woollen mantle, cut in the shape of the upper section of a circle, or, to speak better, in the form of a cycloid. Of this, the end (1) was let

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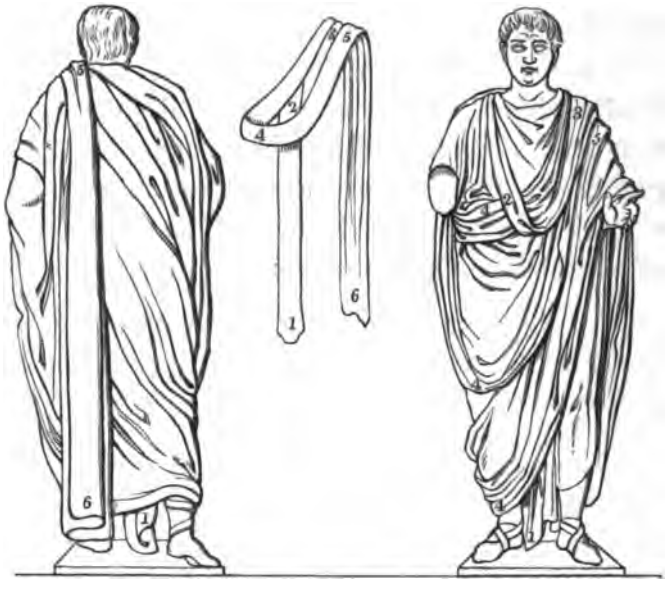
end of the sixth century, much about the period when the mosaics at St. Vitale's were done, speaking of the pall, says: Palleum quod circa collo usque ad pectus venit, rationale vocabatur in vetere testamento. . . . Quod autem collo cingit, antiquæ consuetudinis est quia reges et sacerdotes circumdati erant palleo veste fulgente, quod gratia præsignabat (*Expositio Brevis Ant. Lit. Gal.* ed. Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* t. v. p. 99). By the same writer we are led to believe that, if not throughout the year, for Easter-time at least, both ends of the pall had hung to them a fringe of little bells: Palleum vero in Pascha cum tintinnabulis Eucharistia velatus instar veteris testamenti ubi tonica sacerdotis plena tintinnabulis signans verba prædicationis ostenditur.—*Ibid.*

fall to the ground, in front, from the wearer's left shoulder; the other extremity (6) was then brought down the back and wound under the right arm, so as to leave it quite free and bare, and going athwart the lower part of the breast, was cast over the left shoulder again (5), entirely muffling it, till at last it drooped upon the heels, as may be understood more clearly by this figure of a



statue in the Vatican gallery, representing one of the "gens togata", or citizens of Roma, in the last days of the republic.

However majestic, the old toga was cumbersome; hence, in the reign of Augustus, it began to be laid aside as an article of clothing, though as a robe of

imperial state and official dignity its use at court and in the provinces was ceremoniously kept up, in one curtailed form or another, until the overthrow of the Roman empire. During this long interval, although its first name was never quite dropped, it lost all its early fulness, as we may perceive from this representation of Anastasius Probus,[60] who was consul A. D. 517, and is here shown to us robed in his "toga picta" of office. Its abridgment went imperceptibly

Fl. Anastasius Paul. Provus Savinianus Pomp. Anast.

[60] Our wood-cut is a much reduced copy of one out of the two consular figures cut on Probus's ivory diptych, which once belonged to St. Martin's church, at Liege, where one of its leaves, surrounded with a border of jewels, served as the binding to the upper side of a book of the Gospels for high Mass. Along with Wilthem's learned dissertation on it, this Liege diptych was published by Gori, in his highly valuable and curious *Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*, t. i, p. 280. This "toga picta," or, as it was sometimes called, "palmata," bestowed upon the consuls

on, until at last it dwindled down to be a mere broad band, and was put on, not as any portion of dress, but as a badge of their authority, whenever they came forth in public for the discharge of their duties, by the officers of the state, as we see by this wood-cut, representing the president of some council of provincial magistrates.[61]

Præses.

by the reigning emperor, shone with gold embroidery upon a ground of the brightest purple; and besides the name of "toga," had those of "lorum" and "trabea" given to it.

[61] The learned and laborious prelate, Bianchini, in his magnificent edition of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*De Vitis Rom. Pontif.* t. iii, p. xxviii, *Proleg.*), furnished the engraving from which we have borrowed the above illustration of our subject, which receives further light from a like figure inscribed *Præses Concilii*, which the same writer gives in plate III of the before-named work; both figures are taken by Bianchini from old paintings, or, as he tells us, to quote his own words: Ex veteri pictura in libris Antiquit. Camilli Cardinalis de Maximis.—*Ibid.*

No sooner did the Roman emperors, in the person of Constantine, forsake heathenism, than those who had to manage the outward economy of the Church were brought very often before the eye of the world, by being allowed to watch openly over religious discipline, and to do more of their pastoral duty in public than they dared before. Instead, as hitherto, of trying to crush the faith of Christ, the state now sought to uphold it, and stretched forth honours and afforded help to its teachers: the emperors were but too glad on beholding the officers of the ecclesiastic, coordinate, as it were, with the civil government; and rejoiced at finding the same grades of power and dignity among the bishops of the Church as existed between the secular authorities of the empire. It is very likely therefore that from the reign of Constantine, the local boundaries of each diocess throughout the Christian world were made to coincide, as near as possible, with those of civic jurisdiction, so that every city should have its own bishop, every province its archbishop, and every large tract of country its primate.

As the official dress of the civil functionaries showed at first glance the rank of its wearer, so, we may warrantably presume, it was deemed but fitting that his position, in the hierarchy, of the ecclesiastical superior should be pointed out by some mark upon his sacred garments. But as the old toga, through all its changes, had always

been looked upon as the everywhere-known and honoured token of high authority and magisterial jurisdiction, a new, though slight, modification of this Roman emblem of power was adopted by the Church, as a badge of that higher, because ghostly, prerogative to which archbishop, primate, and the supreme pontiff himself—each according to his degree—is uplifted over those beneath him. To such a sacred ornament, from its first use in the sanctuary, the name of "pall" has been given.

Let it not, however, be imagined that all at once this ornament became the ecclesiastical badge and appertenance of every archbishop throughout the Church:[62] such was not the fact; it crept but slowly into general use, and upon this liturgical subject the practice of western differed widely from that of eastern Christendom. Being one among

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[62] That a bishop might be the metropolitan of a country and still not be allowed the use of the pall, at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, is clear from the following passage in the life of St. Cæsarius of Arles, written by three of his contemporaries: Papa Symmachus tanta meritorum ejus (Cæsarii) dignitate permotus, non solum verissime eum metropolitanæ honore suspexit, sed et concesso specialiter palii decoravit privilegio (*Vitæ S. Cæsarii Arelat.* lib. i, cap. iv; *AA. SS. August.* t. vi, p. 71). Not because he happened to be an archbishop, but through an especial favour was it that the pall came to be allowed to St. Cæsarius, in the opinion of those writers, all of whom were bishops.

the ensigns of imperial dignity, the pall on its adoption as an article of sacred array was, as such, exclusively worn at first by the head of the Church, the bishop of Rome, the great western patriarch; afterwards, the other and lesser patriarchs—those of the East—assumed it. Very soon each of these dignitaries thought well to confer this distinguishing vesture upon the bishops within his own particular patriarchate, but after a different manner: those of the East granted it in time, not merely to archbishops, but indiscriminately to all their brother bishops under their jurisdiction. Such was not the way followed by the Latin portion of the Church: the bishop of Rome at first allowed the Roman pall to be worn by his vicars only, that is, by those bishops in far-off countries to whom he had entrusted powers for acting there on his behalf; and he bestowed the Roman pall, not only on bishops of the Latin, but upon those of the Greek rite: the archbishops of Arles had through a lengthened period—a hundred years and more—been successively nominated his vicars in Gaul by the supreme pontiff, who had therefore decorated them with the pall at each renewal of their commission;[63] and when he sent forth a like charge

[63] Popes Symmachus, 498-514, Vigilius, 538-555, Pelagius I, 555-559, and St. Gregory the Great, each in his pontificate sent the pall to the then archbishop of Arles along with his appointment of papal vicar in Gaul. Vigi-

to John, bishop of Corinth, Pope St. Gregory the Great conferred upon him a like honour.[64] The same great Roman pontiff having sent Austin, then but a priest, to convert the heathen Anglo-Saxons, afterwards wrote to him to go over and receive episcopal consecration from the bishop of Arles,[65] who was the nearest papal vicar. But while St. Gregory constituted the first archbishop of Canterbury his vice-gerent in this island, with fullest metropolitan jurisdiction[66] over all its bishops, and sent him the pall,[67] he told our new primate he was not to exercise any authority over the Church of

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lius writes thus to Auxanius: Et quia digna credimus ratione compleri, ut agenti vices nostras pallii non desit ornatus usum tibi ejus, sicut decessori tuo prædecessor noster sanctæ recordationis Symmachus legitur contulisse, beati Petri functa auctoritate concedimus (*Vigilii Pap. Epist.* vii, ed. Binio; *Concil. Gen.* t. iv. p. 165. See also *Ep.* x of the same pontiff to Aurelianus, *ibid.* p. 167). Pelagius addresses Sapaudus in the like words: Nos fraternitati tuæ hujusmodi curas injungimus ut sedis nostræ vicarius institutus ad instar nostrum in Galliarum partibus primi sacerdotis locum obtineas, etc. . . . Usum quoque palii tibi alacriter affectioseque concedimus pariter etiam pallium dirigentes (*Epist.* vi, *Pelagii Papæ I, ibid.* p. 403). St. Gregory sent the pall to Vigilius, bishop of Arles.—*S. Greg. Regist. Ep.* lib. v, *Epist.* liii, *Op.* t. ii, p. 783.

[64] Ut suprà, *Ep.* lvii, p. 788.

[65] Beda, *Hist. Ecc.* lib. i. cap. xxvii.

[66] Ut suprà.

[67] Cap. xxix.

France, because of old to the bishops of Arles had the Holy See deputed a vicariate power there.[68]

Some time before St. Gregory's pontificate, had it been the custom for many archiepiscopal sees to write to the Apostolic See and beg to have the pall, the new prelate asking for the privilege of this ornament rather as a kindness shown to himself, than because to wear it was looked upon as a right belonging to his bishopric. Though but seldom, yet sometimes the badge of honour thus sought for was withheld, as the Roman pontiffs acted upon the principle, that such a mark of their favour should be awarded according to the circumstances of the case.[69] However, by the eighth century, this ceased to be their rule of action; and from that period to the present day, all archbishops, without distinction or demur, may receive the pall at the shrine of St. Peter, or have it sent them, nay, cannot lawfully exercise any solemn nor episcopal function without it.

As was just now observed, the first time we behold it on the monuments of Christian antiquity, figured as a metropolitan adornment, this pall

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[68] Cap. xxvii.

[69] In his letter to Brunchild, queen of the Franks, telling her that, as she had requested, he had sent the pall to Syagrius, bishop of Autun, Pope Gregory writes: Prisca consuetudo obtinuit ut honor pallii nisi exigentibus causarum meritis, et fortiter postulanti dare non debeat.—*S. Greg. Regist. Ep.* lib. ix, *Ep.* xi, *Op.* t. ii, p. 937.

shows itself to have been, in those early days, a long narrow strip, so wound once only about the upper part of the person, as to meet upon his left shoulder, down from which one end hung before, another behind: this the reader will see in our wood-cut,* as well as from illuminated manuscripts. Since the invariable custom has long been in the Latin Church for no one to wear the pall without having it from the Holy See itself, it always happened that there were no local differences in its shape, ornament, or make; for being wrought at Rome, whence it was sent to those honoured with it, only when they could not come and fetch it away themselves, it was everywhere alike at the same periods throughout western Christendom. By the beginning, however, of the ninth century, the pall, though it still kept its olden shape of a long stole, began to be put on in a way slightly different from its first fashion; for instead of both ends falling at the side from the left shoulder, they fell down the middle, one in front, from the chest to the feet, the other just as low behind on the back of the archbishop: this we perceive from an interesting mosaic which yet exists at Rome, and was done about that period.[70] Such a change must

* See vol. i, p. 319.

[70] The mosaiced apse belonging to one of those large halls built in the Lateran palace, at Rome, by Leo III, A.D. 795-816, still remains, and of the subjects figured upon it, one represents St. Peter, throned and wearing a

have arisen thus: of the two parts which crossed, and very likely were pinned to each other upon the left shoulder, the one which hitherto had stopped there and been let fall down at once, instead of this, came now to be still further carried forwards till brought to the middle of the breast, where it was twisted[71] over its first fold and only then left free to hang in front, not as formerly, by the side of the person; the other end coming from the breast and going over the left shoulder was drawn behind the back, and arranged there after the same mode: if any one will look at those venerable monuments to which we just now referred, he may soon see how this was done. After a time, the pall underwent another alteration: to

liturgical pall. With his left hand the prince of the Apostles gives a flag to Charlemagne, who is kneeling at that side of the apostolic chair; with his right, he outstretches a pall to a successor of his, Leo, who, like the emperor, is on his knees, and has on a pall already. This mosaic, which may be seen well engraved in Alemann's *De Lateranensibus Parietinis Dissert. Hist.* p. 45, tab. vi, a work full of varied research, was done under Leo's pontificate, and shows extremely well, not only how the liturgical pall was worn at that time, but, fortunately too, its then exact shape in the one—quite like a stole—held out to the pontiff by St. Peter.

[71] This "twisting" of the front pendent of the pall, is well shown in the figure of St. Gregory the Great, copied as a frontispiece by Menard, in his edition of the *Liber Sacramentorum*, from an illumination of an old manuscript.

get rid of the unsightliness of what, if clumsily managed, must often have looked like a knot, its upper roll, instead of being lapped about, was kept fastened in its place at the breast and back upon the under one, as at the left shoulder, by a golden pin. Furthermore, owing to the nicety with which the two parts were laid one over the other, although the left side of the pall was in fact double, it did not seem so: liturgical writers have spoken of this occurrence.[72]

At this point, the next step into its last and actual shape was easy: ceasing, as it then did, to be made in one long straight band, which needed to be pinned in a way to sit well upon the wearer, the pall was so woven as to form at once a flat circular band, some three inches in breadth, from which hung down two straight bands just opposite each other, about a yard in length and as broad as the circle. To this day such is its form, with the exception that the pendents now barely go beyond a foot of our measurement.

From the time that its ends were brought from the left side to hang straight down the middle of the wearer, before and behind, instead of falling no

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[72] Est autem pallium in sinistra duplex . . . in dextra vero pallium duplex non est. Fit autem pallium ex lana, vili scilicet materia (*S. Bruno Signiensis, Quid sig. vest. Episc.* D'Achery, *Spicil.* t. i, p. 448*). So, too, remarks Pope Innocent III (*De Sac. Altaris Myst.* lib. i, cap. lxii, p. 23, b).

lower than the waist, the pall was made to reach the feet, as we may behold from written and pictorial[73] evidences. Judging, too, from the oldest mosaics and illuminations, the pall for many ages bore marked upon it but two crosses, and they were not black, but coloured almost always bright purple,[74] though occasionally red: one cross was

[73] In the following extract from an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, not only its woollen texture, but its reaching down to the wearer's feet, are both severally noticed: this precious codex once belonged to St. Dunstan, and is now in Paris. It has a particular prayer—part of which we here give—to be said when either the archbishop of Canterbury (archiepiscopus ecclesiæ Christi) or the archbishop of York (ecclesiæ S. Petri) received the pall; and in this prayer, the consecrator was thus to beseech heaven for the new archbishop: *Consecratio post pallium.*—Sit ei honor pallii ornamentum animæ, et unde advenit fastidium visibile, inde florescat amor invisibilis, et sicut exterius ovinæ vestis jugum præ ceteris sacerdotibus in summo indumentorum deportare videtur: ita interius mitia coram Christo præcordia gestet, etc. . . . Et sicut orsum est istorum lanigenæ vestis fimbriæ pedes pertingunt, sic famulum tuum omnipotens Deus in theoricis practicisque coram tuis obtutibus providum et innocentem usque ad finem vitæ perseverare concedas.—*Ex Pontificali S. Dunstani*, apud Martene, *De Antiq. Ecc. Rit.* t. ii, lib. i, c. viii, art. xi, p. 41.

Our wood-cuts of St. Dunstan (p. 97) and of an archbishop seated on his faldstool, a little further on, testify this length of the pall.

[74] That the crosses on the pall were purple, is certified by the written and pictorial monuments of antiquity. In

on the end in front, the other in the same place behind: afterwards, four crosses were mentioned

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his work on the liturgy which he put forth, A.D. 847, Rabanus Maurus observes: Summo pontifici qui archiepiscopus vocatur, propter apostolicam vicem pallii honor decernitur quod genus indumenti crucis signaculum purpureo colore exprimit (*De Instit. Cleric.* lib. i, cap. 23). Three centuries and a half later, A.D. 1198, Pope Innocent III, in his full description of the pall, tells us that its four crosses were purple: Fit enim pallium de candida lana contextum, habens desuper circulum humeros constringentem, et duas lineas ab utraque parte dependentes. Quatuor autem cruces purpureas, etc. (*De Sac. Alt. Myst.* lib. i, cap. lxii, p. 22, b). With regard to the artistic monuments of past ages, Pope Pasqual I is figured among the mosaics of two churches at Rome—in that of St. Cecilia, and in St. Praxedes's—wrought during the ninth century: in both, the pontiff is represented in the same way, and the cross seen in front at the end of his pall is purple, or rather, crimson. These mosaics show moreover that, at the time, the pall had on it but two crosses—one at each extremity. In the Ravenna mosaics, St. Maximianus's pall exhibits but one cross in front: of course, it had another on the end hanging behind. When the body of St. Leo the Great was the last time translated, one of the crosses—and it was red—still remained of those which were marked upon the pall that most likely had been put upon this holy pontiff's relics at a former translation of them. Grimaldi, an eye-witness, in his written account of this occurrence, A.D. 1607, says: Remanserat super humero dextro crux parva rubri coloris, quæ erat pallii pontificalis. Item aliam crucem paulo longiorem ejusdem pallii juxta pectus in parte

as adorning it;[75] but now it has six, and all these are black.[76]

A thousand years ago and more, we find the custom was to fasten the pall to the chasuble itself

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dextra tenebat. In medio pectoris conspiciebatur aurea una spinula pallii infixa planetæ.—*Grimaldus, Lib. Instrum.* apud *Sac. Vat. Basil. Crypt. Monum.* p. 46, ed. Dionysio.

[75] Pope Innocent III, quoted in the note before.

[76] Of the pall, as it is now formed at Rome, there lies before me at this moment an exact and well-executed fac-simile, for which I am indebted to the ready kindness of the present Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray. From the description which his Grace was pleased to send along with the fac-simile, we learn that one side of the pall is single, the other double; and the parts where each of the two pendents is attached to the circle, have three folds: there are altogether six crosses, four on the round part, one on each of the pendents, and of that shape which heralds call *pattee*, every one made of black silk, and edged with fine black cord: at the ends the pendents are, for about a couple of inches, sheathed in thin lead, covered over with black silk.

From Pertsch's account (*Tractatio de Orig., Usu, et Auct. Pallii Archiep.* p. 20) of the Archbishop of Cologne's pall, received from Rome, c. A.D. 1750, it would seem, that ornament not only varied some deal in shape, but in the number and colour of the crosses—which, he says, amounted to eight, six being purple, two black—from the pall as now fashioned: he talks, too, of several little strings sewed to the edge of the pall; but I cannot help thinking that Pertsch, some how or another, has fallen, in this instance, into a deep mistake.

by three pins, one on the left shoulder, another at the breast, and the third upon the back.[77] As may be well supposed, such pins were of silver or of gold, and often, if not always headed, in this country as well as abroad, with precious stones.[78]

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[77] In the *Ordo Romanus* ii (which must have been drawn up before the beginning of the ninth century, since we find Amalarius commenting upon it about that time), directions are laid down for pinning the pall to the chasuble when the pope solemnly pontificated: Novissime per diaconum vel subdiaconum cui ipse jusserit, pallio superinduitur (pontifex), et configitur per acus in planeta retro et ante et in humero sinistro (*Ordo Rom.* ii, ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 42). Earlier still we observe the same rubric; for in the "Ordo i," it is said: Induit (pallium) super pontificem, et configit eum cum acubus in planeta retro et ante et in humero sinistro (*Ibid.* p. 7). In giving us the symbolic meaning of the pall, St. Bruno of Segni notices the use of the three pins, thus: Acus autem non ad pungendum . . . sed ad planetam palliumque jungendum inventæ sunt. The little hooks sewed on the chasuble, and for catching and holding fast the pins, are then expressly mentioned by that holy writer: Quædam enim ansulæ antiquitus in planetis positæ erant quibus acus inserebantur, et pallium simul cum planeta firmabant, ne à suo loco pallium moveretur. Possumus tamen per acus, quia tres sunt, fidem, spem, et charitatem intelligere.—*S. Bruno Sig. Ep. Quid Pallium significet*, D'Achery, *Spicil.* t. i, p. 448*.

[78] Among the sacred jewels once belonging to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and still kept in that cathedral in the year 1321, when an inventory was taken, were, along with the "lapides ejusdem (Sancti Thomæ) in auro situati,

Upon some archiepiscopal chasubles were sewed little hooks, through which these pins, instead of

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. . . Firmacula (misprinted firinacula) iij parva vetera, unde ij cum parvis gemmis et j cum nigro saphiro" (*Dart's Canterbury Cath. App.* p. xiii). These "firmacula" could have been nothing else but those pins used for the pall of our glorious martyr: the morses for copes are noticed by themselves in the same list of church-ornaments. Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, tells us, that Archbishop Hubert left to the same church, besides other sacred things: Spindulus iij de auro (*Twysden*, t. ii, p. 1684): these three golden "spindulæ", or spinulæ, as they are more commonly called, were the pins for the pall.

By foreign writers the jewel-headed pins are often noticed: Cencio Savelli, in the *Ordo Romanus* which he drew up, c. A.D. 1191, tells us that the pall was put on the Roman pontiff thus: Archidiaconus . . . aptat idem palleum super pontificem; et intromissis spinulis aureis tribus, ante, et retro, et sinistro latere, in capite quarum sunt innixi tres hyacintini lapides (apud Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 212). The inventories of the papal ornaments, and of which copious extracts from the manuscripts in the Vatican library are given by Garampi, furnish us with many curious items; and we find that Pope Boniface VIII possessed many of these rich pins for his pall: Novem accus de auro cum novem zaffiris, quarum sex sunt ponderis unius unciæ, et dimidium quart. et tres denar. (*Del Sigillo della Garfagnana*, p. 122). In another of these Roman inventories, A.D. 1314, mention is made of "tres acus pro palleo cum tribus zaphiris"; and later, A.D. 1371, "acus auri pro pallio cum lapidibus pretiosis" (*ibid.* p. 123). In fact, when Boniface VIII's grave was opened, A.D. 1605, Grimaldi

running into the texture of that costly vestment itself, were made to go;[79] afterwards, these pins were not allowed to touch the chasuble at all, but pierced the pall only, and it is interesting to find them marked, though perhaps not quite correctly, upon some of our archiepiscopal effigies.[80] For the

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saw upon the pontiff's body some very small pieces of the pall, of which the pins were not only rich but perfect: Cruces pallii serico nigro, ut hodie summi pontifices utuntur, necnon spinulæ aureæ saphyris preciosis ornatæ, quarum una in medio pectoris, altera in armo sinistro aderant, interæ adhuc extabant (apud Dionysium, *Sac. Vat. Basil. Crypt. Monum.* p. 130). These pins are shown upon the cumbent figure of Pope Nicholas V, who died A.D. 1455, and lies buried in the subterranean church of St. Peter's, Rome: his monument is etched in Dionigi, *ut suprà*, p. 139, tav. liii.

[79] St. Bruno of Segni expressly speaks of these hooks: see his words at the end of note 77, p. 144.

[80] On Archbishop Stratford's effigy, which lies in the south aisle of the choir in Canterbury cathedral, may be seen, well marked, not only the pall (without, however, its crosses), but these pins; but they are placed, one below the right shoulder, the other below the left, the third on the middle of the breast,—the two latter just as they should be. Putting a pin at the right shoulder is against the rubrics, which are, and ever have been, followed by the church; and we must look upon this archiepiscopal monument at Canterbury rather as an oversight of the sculptor, than as any evidence that our English primate wore the pins upon his pall otherwise than his fellow archbishops throughout western Europe at the

last three hundred years and more, however, the way for attaching these pins has been, that they should pierce neither pall nor chasuble, but from out each of those crosses, whereon the old custom was to stick them, there should come two or three little eyes or loops of black silk, passed through which, the pin hangs fast upon the pall at that place whereat formerly it ran into that ornament.[81]

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period. Unless he knew better, an artist, for the sake of uniformity, would of course be led to fix a pin upon the right as well as the left shoulder. By the like carelessness, because some crosses were to be indicated on the pall, artists, not over-exact, put any number they happened to fancy, as we may observe in illuminated manuscripts. The reason why the crosses on the pall are not now to be found in the Canterbury archiepiscopal effigies, is, that having been done in colour, and not cut, they have, like the rest of the painting once all over them, faded away.

[81] From a manuscript pontifical of the fifteenth century, Giorgi quotes a long rubric for the putting on of the pall. Part of this rubric says: Nulla spinula perforet pallium, et nullo modo acumen ejus tangat planetam (*Lit. Rom. Pontif.* t. i, p. 222). Such, too, is the present rubric, as may be gathered from the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, which directs thus: Diaconus capit unam ex tribus spinulis .... videlicet pulchriorem eamque infigit cruci anteriori pallii ante pectus existenti, aliam in cruce sinistri humeri, tertiam subdiaconus infigit cruci posteriori quæ omnes ita infigantur ut tertio transeant per crucem in qua sint ocelli tres, seu ansulæ tres sericæ ejusdem coloris nigri, ita tamen ut nec crucem, neque pallium perforent, neque planetam tan-

The way for putting on the pall was (during at least the middle ages), to make the two pendents drop, one before, the other behind, directly upon the orphrey of the chasuble, and the circular part to go round the person in such a manner that it might sit, not about his neck, but over his arms, midway between the shoulder and the elbow:[82] at present it is hung upon the shoulders. That part which is double—for so it still continues to be made—is let fall upon the archbishop's left side, and there one of the three golden pins is fastened

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gant; et gemmæ spinulis appositæ remaneant ad dextram infigentis.—Lib. ii, cap. viii, § 20.

[82] Est autem locus conveniens pallii super brachia, ut videlicet nec tantum ascendat, quod appropinquet ad cubitum, sed sit quasi in medio, etc. (*Ordo Rom. xiv*, auct. J. Gaietano, c. A.D. 1298, apud *Mabillon, Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 285.) Again the same *Ordo* says: Pallium componat (diaconus) ita, quod crux anterior sit ante pectus super aurifrigium planetæ et . . . . trahat pallium super dextrum brachium pontificis versus cubitum; postea . . . . cum manu dextra pallium super sinistrum brachium pontificis trahat, providens quod ipsum pallium super brachia descendat quasi ad medium inter armum et cubitum, etc. (*Ib.* p. 294). Such, in fact, is the way that the pall is shown on many of the sepulchral figures of the Roman pontiffs, as the reader may see in Dionigi, *Sac. Vat. Basil. Crypt. Monum.* pp. 126, 142, 146. Such, too, is the way in which it is worn by St. Andrew, on a seal belonging to Wells cathedral, and engraved at the end of t. ii, pl. xii, of Dugdale's *Mon. Anglic.*. new ed.

to it; the second of these pins is stuck in front, at the part whence the pendent starts down from the circle; the third behind, in a like position.

As will be readily believed, such a badge of metropolitan jurisdiction—coming as it did from the very shrine which held, and yet holds, the body of St. Peter himself, and sent through the hands of his successor as head of Christ's Church on earth, the Bishop of Rome[83]—has always been looked

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[83] Every year, on the morning of St. Agnes's feast, the 21st of January, a horse, bearing, slung over his back, two baskets, each of which holds a lamb of the fairest and the whitest, is to be seen walking into Rome from the country, towards the pope's palace, before which it awaits till the pontiff comes to a window, thrown wide open, and standing there, makes the sign of the cross upon the bleating burden below him. Borne hence to the fine old basilican church of St. Agnes-out-of-the walls, where solemn high mass is to be sung, these lambs, decked with ribbons and flowers, are taken to the altar, and kept at its foot while the holy sacrifice is offered up. Formerly at the *Agnus Dei*, but now after divine service is ended, the celebrating priest goes through the ceremony of blessing these little animals. They are then given over to the canons of the pope's cathedral (St. John Lateran's), and the chapter of that church sends them to the pontiff himself, who orders them to be conveyed unto the dean of the apostolic subdeacons, by whom they are entrusted to the care of some nunnery, where they are kept and fed. In due time these lambs are shorn, and their fleeces, along with which is put, if need be, other fine wool, are spun and woven by the

upon with due regard, and received by its future wearer with every becoming respect. If not kept at home by great hinderances, each archbishop has ever had to go to Rome and fetch back his pall from the tomb of the prince of the Apostles.[84]

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nuns into palls, against the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. On the eve of that day, these palls are carried to St. Peter's, and laid upon the high altar, when they are shortly afterwards taken down into that hollow space below it, and when even-song is done, blessed in due form either by the pope himself, or, in his stead, by the cardinal arch-priest of that basilica. They are then shut up within a rich silver-gilt box, and put close by St. Peter's shrine, and so kept there until wanted for bestowing upon new archbishops. I have more than once seen both functions,—the blessing of the lambs at St. Agnes's, and of the palls at St. Peter's. The form for blessing them is given by De Bralion from an old codex belonging to the Vatican basilica.

For other notices on the pall, the liturgist should read over with care an admirable dissertation, full of all kinds of ecclesiastical learning, from the pen of Dom. Ruinart, entitled *Disquisitio Historica de Pallio Archiepiscopali*, to be found among the *Ouvrages Posthumes de Mabillon et de Ruinart*, t. ii, p. 400. Afterwards he may go through the short but well-arranged, and neatly-written, work of De Bralion's, *Pallium Archiepiscopale;* and along with it he can, if he choose, look into the larger and later book on the same subject, by Pertsch, *Tractatio Canonica de Origine, Usu, et Auctoritate Pallii Archiepiscopalis.*

[84] When they went to Rome to fetch the pall, our Anglo-Saxon archbishops with their own hands took it

When, however, it came to him who could not undertake the journey, no small ceremony has on occasions been shown in this kingdom on the pall being brought hither. With a crowd of bishops, abbots, and nobles of the land about him, Arch-

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from off St. Peter's altar, as we learn from the "letter of privileges" given by Pope John XIII to our St. Dunstan, and printed whole, for the first time, by Mabillon: Incipit epistola privilegii, quam jubente Johanne Papa suscepta benedictione ab eo Dunstan archiepiscopus a suis manibus accepit, sed pallium a suis manibus non accepit, sed eo jubente ab altare sancti Petri Apostoli.—*AA. SS. O. B.* t. vii, p. 643.

One of our Anglo-Saxon prelates, Elfsin, died upon the Alps while going to Rome for the pall, as Archbishop of Canterbury: Ipse (Elfsinus) vero archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis fungeretur honore, Romam de more pro pallio proficiscens, cum Alpes ascendisset, acerba tactus infirmitate expiravit ibidem.—*Gervasius, Act. Pontif. Cantuarien.* ed. Twysden, t. ii, 1645.

When Archbishop Lanfranc went to Rome, after having taken, as the custom then was, his pall from the altar, he received a second one, as a token of especial friendship, from the hands of the supreme pontiff himself, as we learn from one of our monastic writers, William of Malmesbury: Romam ivit (Lanfrancus), et honorifice a sede apostolica susceptus unum quidem pallium ab altari Romano more accepit, alterum vero in indicium sui amoris videlicet cum quo missam celebrare solebat, Alexander ei papa sua manu porrexit. (Lib. i *De Ges. Pontif. Anglorum*, p. 117, ed. Savile, Londini, 1696.) This was the first and last example of such a favour.

bishop St. Anselm barefoot, though otherwise arrayed in all his sacred vestments, walked forth as far as the gates of Canterbury to meet the papal messenger—his own nephew, who had brought him from Rome his pall, which the younger Anselm carried to his uncle in a box of silver. Borne from the city's walls in solemn procession, the pall was laid upon the high altar of that cathedral, and from off of which, as if from St. Peter's own hand,[85] the archbishop took it himself, in virtue of his primatial authority, but not until he had made a profession of canonical obedience to the Roman pontiff. Then all present came up and kissed, out of reverence to St. Peter, the metropolitan's pall, which was afterwards put on St. Anselm, who was led with much state to the English primatial chair and enthroned upon it: this done, the archbishop began solemn high Mass, at which he consecrated Theobald to the bishopric of Worcester.[86]

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[85] Statutum est ut a quo pallium in Angliam delatum est, ab eodem Cantuariam super altare Salvatoris deferretur, et inde ab Anselmo quasi de manu beati Petri pro summi quo fungebatur pontificatus honore sumeretur.—*Eadmeri Hist. Novor.* lib. ii, p. 34, ed. Seldeno.

[86] Præfatus Anselmus (nepos Anselmi domini archiepiscopi domino papæ familiaris) pallium in vase argenteo honorifice ferens, Cantuariam venit, itumque est illi obviam usque ad portam civitatis, ab utroque conventu duarum ecclesiarum, archiepiscopatus scilicet, et vicinæ abbatiæ Sancti Augustini cum omnibus, qui pro hoc ipso illò con-

Before he may exercise any of his archiepiscopal functions, every new archbishop must have gotten

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fluxerant. Pater stipatus episcopis et indutus, ut alii, vestibus sacris, nudis pedibus devotus occurrit. Sicque delatum super altare Salvatoris pallium est, et a pontifice inde susceptum facta prius Romano pontifici de fidelitate, et canonica obedientia, professione. Deinde pro reverentia beati Petri, ab omnibus deosculatur, et indutus eo, pontifex summus ad cathedram patriachatus Anglorum gloriose perducitur, et inthronizatur. Ante quam cathedram dictis orationibus et aliis quæ ipsius ecclesiæ sacer usus dici instituit, mox ecclesiæ Wigornensis antistes electus Theobaldus nomine, ei consecrandus præsentatur. (Ut supra, lib. v, p. 113.) It was bare-foot, too, that St. Thomas à Becket went forth to meet the pall sent to him by Pope Alexander: Papa Alexander tertius ei pallium misit per clericum ejus Johannem Sarisberiensem. Archiepiscopus contra illam fasciam pectoralem et humeralem suscipiendam devotus pronus et nudus pedes ivit. (*Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar. a Stephanide*, ed. Sparke, p. 24.) Bare-foot, also, but a very few years later, Archbishop Hubert went forth to receive his pall: Deinde alba indutus et cappa, sequente conventu, nudus pedes incedens, pallium suscepit per manum nuntii Celestini papæ. (*Chron. Gervasii*, ed. Twysden, t. ii, p. 1585.) Moreover, as it would seem, the custom was, before enthroning, to hoist the newly elected archbishop upon the high altar in Canterbury cathedral: Defuncto itaque archiepiscopo (Huberto, A.D. 1205), adolescentes quidam de conventu Cantuariensis ecclesiæ .... Reginaldum suppriorem suum in archiepiscopum elegerunt et media de nocte supra factam electionem hymno *Te Deum laudamus* cantato, prius super maius altare, ac deinde in

from Rome his pall, which, however, he can wear, not each time he may like to sing high Mass, but only upon set occasions and the greater festivals of the year,[87] although during the days of our Anglo-

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archiepiscopali cathedra posuerunt. (*Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl.* anno 1205, p. 148.) Such a rite is still kept up in Rome at the election of a new pontiff, who, no sooner chosen, is carried into St. Peter's, and seated on a throne upon the high altar, to receive the homage of the cardinals.

The words uttered by the bearer of the pall from Rome to Canterbury, on handing it over to the English primates, were as follow: *Forma dandi pallium Johanni archiepiscopo Cantuariensi*, anno MCCCXXXIV. Ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et B. Virginis, et SS. Petri et Pauli, et D. Papæ Johannis XXII, et S. R. E. necnon et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tibi commissæ tradimus tibi pallium de corpore B. Petri sumptum, plenitudinem videlicet pontificalis officii; ut utaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis ei ab apostolica sede concessis. (*Wil. de Dene, Hist. Roffensis*, apud Wharton, *Anglia Sac.* t. i, p. 372.) The reader, perhaps, may ask why, in the above form, this archiepiscopal ornament is said to have come from St. Peter's body. An account of the ritual observances, during the twelfth century, for blessing these palls, we still have from a history of St. Peter's on the Vatican, from the pen of a canon at the time of that church, Petrus Mallius, who tells us that they were consecrated in the confessional, and laid upon the shrine of the prince of the apostles; and, to speak in this medieval writer's own words: Et inde est quod legatus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ dicit: Accipe pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, in plenitudinem officii tui.—Apud *A A. SS. Junii*, t. vii, p. 38.

Saxon Church, as it would seem from St. Gregory the Great's instructions on this head to St. Austin,[88] this ornament was borne by an archbishop when-

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[87] The festival days, and episcopal functions, on which the archbishop may wear his pall, are always set down in the apostolical letter which is sent with it. When, upon one celebrated occasion, St. Thomas of Canterbury wore his pall whilst he said mass upon a common week-day, the occurrence, being so unusual, is thus noticed by one of the writers of his life: Et hanc quidem missam, præter morem, eo die qui festus non erat, cum pallio celebravit (S. Thomas Cantuariensis).—*Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar.* ed. Lupo, t. i, p. 53.

[88] At the same time he sends St. Austin the pall, that illustrious Roman pontiff tells the newly-consecrated archbishop of Canterbury: Pallium præterea per latorem præsentium fraternitati tuæ .... direximus, quod videlicet tantum in sacrosanctis celebrandis mysteriis utendi licentiam impertivimus.—*Beda, Hist. Ecc.* lib. ii, cap. viii.

The following were the days and occasions upon which our archbishops, in Anglo-Saxon times, might wear the pall. "Pallium," says John XIII to St. Dunstan, "fraternitati tuæ ex more ad missarum solennia celebranda commendamus, quod tibi non aliter ecclesiæ tuæ privilegiis in suo statu manentibus, uti concedimus, nisi solummodo in Nativitate Domini, et in Epiphania, atque in Resurrectione, et Ascensione Domini, ac Pentecosten pariterque in Assumptione Dei genitricis Mariæ, seu in nataliciis Apostolorum; verum etiam in consecratione episcoporum atque in natalis tui die, nec non et in die consecrationis ecclesiæ quem usum antecessores nostri prodiderunt.—*AA. SS. O. B.* t. vii, p. 643.

ever he solemnly offered up the holy Sacrifice. Hence is it that the pall never has been worn over any other vestment but the chasuble. Except by particular permission from the Holy See, no metropolitan has at any time been allowed to wear his pall when he leaves the kingdom, or goes beyond the boundaries of his canonical and recognized jurisdiction.[89] Therefore, when he dies, the archbishop is buried (if within the limits of his own province), with his pall about his shoulders;[90] if

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[89] By an especial favour, the Roman pontiff, Calixtus II, A.D. 1119, allowed Turstin, archbishop of York, as long as he remained in banishment, to wear his pall upon the same days, and for the same functions, as he would had he been at home in his own province. Not having such a leave, surprise was awakened among the officers of the Roman court, on hearing that Radulf, archbishop of Canterbury, had used his pall when out of this kingdom, and in places, and on occasions, unbefitting: Nam et usum pallii quam diu in exilio esset (Turstinus) illi concessit (Kalixtus papa) illis diebus et officiis quibus in provincia sua ex prædecessorum suorum consuetudine uteretur. Etenim extra provinciam et regnum absque permissione summi pontificis metropolitæ pallio uti non licet: unde et in curia Romana aliquociens inter se contulerunt, Radulphum archiepiscopum excessisse quod in alio regno, et in capellis et in locis non decentibus palliatus cantabat.—*Actus Pontif. Eboracen.* auctore Th. Stubbs, ed. Twysden, t. ii, p. 1716.

[90] Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, one of the few who helped to bury St. Thomas à Becket the day after the saint's martyrdom, tells us that, along with his other

abroad, with it folded up and put beneath his head. But the use of this badge is not so exclusively archiepiscopal that none below such a step in the hierarchy may wear it; for there are some few bishoprics in Germany, France, and Italy, to which the right of the pall has been, through especial favour, granted for ever by the Holy See for the use of their prelates, notwithstanding they be but simple suffragans.[91] Though no archbishop may take and put on his predecessor's pall,[92] but must ask for and get a fresh one for himself, it is not so with those bishops whose diocesses enjoy the hereditary privilege of its use, for they need

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pontifical vestments, the archbishop had on the pall: Habet (sanctus Thomas) albam in qua sacratus est; tunicam quoque et dalmaticam, casulam, pallium, et mitram.—*Gervasius, Act. Pontif. Cant.* ed. Twysden, t. ii, p. 1673.

[91] Bamberg, in Germany; Autun and Dol, in France; and in Italy, Lucca, Pavia, and Verona, besides the suburban bishopric of Ostia, the cardinal bishop of which see always consecrates the newly-chosen pope,—though but simple episcopal cities have belonging to each of them the privilege of the pall for their prelates.

[92] In the council held A.D. 1070, at the bidding, and in the presence, of the first Norman William, one of the three reasons put forth for dragging Stigand, the last Anglo-Saxon archbishop, out of his primatial chair of Canterbury, was: Quod vivente Roberto archiepiscopo, non solùm archiepiscopatum sumpsit sed etiam ejus pallio quod Cantuariæ remansit . . . . in missarum celebratione aliquandiu usus est.—*Rogeri de Hoveden Annal.* p. 259 b.

no new pall nor personal leave to assume the one belonging to their see.[93]

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[93] On meeting with old monumental sculptures, or while looking over illuminated manuscripts, the antiquary must be careful and distinguish between the archiepiscopal pall and the mere orphrey of the chasuble, since it is known that the latter embroidered decoration was not always sewed to the vestment itself, but made in a way to be easily shifted, and put on and off, much after the fashion of the pall. Unless warned of this fact, the young liturgical student might often, at first sight, mistake a priestly monument for that of some archbishop.

Moreover, it is clear that, towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period of our church, the pall was employed by our artists in their works, not solely as the ritual badge of an archbishop, but as a symbol also for catching the gazer's eye, and telling him unto what a loftiness of popular veneration, or high authority above all his fellows, some great saint's holiness of life had uplifted him; to say, in fact, by a liturgical figure of speech, that the blessed man upon whom the limner in his admiring love, and not the Roman pontiff, had bestowed the pall, stood as high over all other saints of his own time, country, and order, as an archbishop does amid the bishops of his province. To convey such a meaning, doubtless, was it that the good Winchester monk, who so beautifully illuminated the benedictional which his brother in religion, Godemann, wrote out at St. Æthelwold's behest, has arrayed bishop St. Cuthberht and abbot St. Bennet each in a pall over his chasuble, like pope St. Gregory the Great, who is grouped along with them; as may be seen in *Archæologia*, t. xxiv, pt. iii, p. 48.

Concerning another beautiful adornment,

THE RATIONAL,

which was worn alike by all the episcopate, whether bishops or archbishops, in this country, from the beginning of the twelfth to about the end of the fourteenth century, as several monuments show us, we have spoken elsewhere in this work.[94] Here, however, the student should be warned that, although mistaken by some few among the eminent liturgical writers of the Church, the real "rational" has nothing to do with the "pall". True is it, that in comparing the vestments of the Aaronic with those of the Christian priesthood, our metropolitan badge by a few has been called "superhumerale" as well as "rationale"; but after what the reader has had brought before him in a former section upon this very subject, it is thought that he will easily acknowledge there is the widest difference between the medieval "rationale", beaten out of gold and studded with jewels, and the woollen "pallium".

That

GLOVES

formed a part of the sacred attire for the solemnities of religion, and were worn by all bishops in the northern parts of the Latin Church, is shown by some of the earliest liturgical monuments that

[94] See vol. i, p. 363.

have come down to our times.[95] A form of prayer in the ninth century was already framed for the bishop to say as he drew them on, which has continued, in one shape or another, to be set forth in all pontificals ever since; and from the notices of them scattered among the documents of those times,[96] we may conclude that they were always made of the best material, and often ornamented with gold. Though no positive mention occur of them in our Anglo-Saxon evidences, there can be little doubt they were in use among the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy.

After St. Osmund's days, however, there is no

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[95] Quidam enim sacerdos inibi suos wantos perdidit dum prædictum sacraretur templum, quos quidam clericus inveniens, furtim de ipsa ecclesia nova exportare cupiens, de prædicta sancti Stephani . . . . ecclesia exire non potuit, nec ipsos wantos secum deferre valuit.—*Gesta Domini Aldrici Cenomanicæ Urbis Ep.* (c. A.D. 832), *a discipulis suis*, ed. Baluzio, *Miscell.* t. i, p. 81, Lucæ, 1761.

[96] In that valuable *Ordo Sacramentorum*, printed first by the Lutheran M. Flaccus Illyricus, and afterwards by Cardinal Bona, then by Martene, there is a prayer to be said by the bishop whilst he draws on his gloves; and it is headed in the codex, "Ad induendas manus." (*Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* t. i, lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, p. 177, Bassani, 1788.) In a monument of the tenth century, the *Missa Vetus ex Codice Ratoldi*, the rubric, after the bishop has washed his hands, says: Tunc ministrentur ei manicæ . . . postea detur ei annulus in dextra manu desuper manica.—Ed. Menardo, *Append. ad Lib. Sacram. S. Gregorii*, p. 261.

lack of national proof concerning the use, in the liturgy, of gloves by our bishops. We know, too, they were of the richest description: gold, pearls, and precious stones often glistened on them as they covered the hands of our English prelates.[97] We see their shape upon so many existing monu-

[97] Among many other gifts to Canterbury, of which he had been chosen archbishop A.D. 1193, Hubert bestowed upon it: Mitras vj, chirothecarum paria iii, omnia gemmis et auro parata decenter, præterea mitras et chirothecas sine auro. (*Actus Pontif. Cantuariensium*, auctore Gervasio, ed. Twysden, *Hist. Anglic. Scriptores*, t. ii, p. 1680.) St. Paul's cathedral, London, was rich in these gloves: Mitra bene ornata bendis aureis triphoriatis, insertis lapidibus et perlis. . . . Item cirotecæ simul apparatus. Item duo paria cirothecarum ornata laminis argenteis deauratis, et lapidibus insertis.—*Visitatio facta in Thesaura S. Pauli*, A.D. 1295, in *Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 315, new edit.

In the year 1321, belonging to Canterbury cathedral, there were: Cirothecæ R. de Winchelese cum perulis et gemmis, in plata quadrata. *Item.* Par unum, cum tasselis argenteis et parvis lapidibus. *Item.* Quatuor paria cum tasselis argenteis. *Item.* Par unum de lino, cum tasselis argenteis et perulis. (*Dart's Canterbury Cath., Append.* p. xiii.) That these tassels, as we said before, were thin plates of beaten gold or silver, is further shown by a passage in the *Gesta Gaufredi de Loduno*, telling us that, among many other gifts to the church of Le Mans (of which he was bishop about the middle of the thirteenth century), he bestowed upon it: Quinque paria cerotecarum, et duas paraturas argenteas deauratas ad opus earumdem cerotecarum.—Ed. Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 335.

ments in sculpture and painting of their times, from which we perceive that these pontifical gloves were so long as to reach some way up above the wrist, and had, in later times, a tassel hanging from a point in which their cuffs were made to end, at the under side of the wearer's arm.[98] But gloves were not the only things employed of old by our English dignitaries for keeping their hands warm

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[98] Upon our countryman Hadrian IV's gloves, was embroidered a lamb, with this inscription, *Agnus Dei*, as we learn from Grimaldi, a canon of St. Peter's at Rome, who was present when the pontiff's coffin was opened, A.D. 1606, and his vestments found quite entire. (*Dionigi, Sac. Vat. Bas. Crypt. Mon.* p. 124.) At New College, Oxford, among other pontifical appertenances once belonging to their munificent founder, William of Wykeham, they have a glove of purple silk, with a broad ornament woven in gold thread on the back of it. In the very interesting cumbent figure found not long ago, walled up in Rochester cathedral, and presumed to represent Bishop John de Sheppy, a very good example of episcopal gloves may be seen. They were richly embroidered, had jewels on the back, and reached far up over the wrist.

This form of the episcopal glove, with its tassel, or tuft of silk, is well seen on Archbishop Chicheley's effigy, in Canterbury cathedral, and engraved by Britton. It shews, too, those small silver plates sewed on the back, and called "tasselli",—a term not to be mistaken for our English word "tassel". The "cirothecæ aurifrisiatæ" worn by the priors of Winchester, are noticed among their pontifical ornaments at note 41, p. 105, of this volume.

in cold weather, during the celebration of the holy offices at church. Most likely long before, assuredly soon after, the coming over here of the Normans, certain

METAL BALLS,

sometimes of copper, but oftener of silver parcel-gilt, were so contrived that the hollow inside might be safely filled either with burning charcoal or hot water, if not indeed with some chemical preparation apt to give out heat for a length of time.[99]

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[99] The "pomum argenteum" frequently occurs in the lists of ecclesiastical ornaments. Among the things given to the abbatial church of Sherborne by its sacristan William, in the middle of the twelfth century, was: Unum pomum argenteum incisum et per partes deauratum. (*Cartularium Abb. de Sereb.*, in the possession of Sir T. Phillips, Bart.) Belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, London, A.D. 1295, there were: Pomum Eustachii episcopi argenteum fractum de opere levato de ymaginibus deauratis, ponderis xvi*s.* vii*d.* cum scutella in capsa de corio. Item pomum argenteum de opere gravato de ymaginibus representantibus xii menses deauratis cum scutella, de dono F. Basset xii*s.* Item pomum argenteum album planum, ponderis cum scutella i marc. Item pomum cupreum parvi pretii. (*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 312, new edit.) In the year 1321 there were in the vestry of Canterbury cathedral: Tres calepugni de cupro deaurato. The use of this "pomum", though hinted by the word "calepugnus", is unmistakably set forth by the Salisbury inventory, in which we find: Pomum unum argenteum ad calefaciend.

One of these warming-balls, the bishop, at those parts of the Mass and the other portions of the divine service when he could becomingly do so, as he was sitting down, used to hold within both his hands and thus easily chafe them, a usage which has hitherto been unknown to, or overlooked by, everyone who has written on the liturgy.

Besides their gloves, our bishops wore, on occasions, a certain kind of

LOOSE SLEEVES,

called "brachialia",[1] which could be easily drawn

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manus. (See p. 100 in the third part of this work). The "scutella," or little dish, noticed above, was, no doubt, to hold the "pomum", or ball, when it was handed to, or taken from, the bishop. In the treasury of York, as late as A.D. 1530, there were: Unum calefactorium argenti deauratum cum nodis curiosis insculptis ponderis unius unciæ. Item unum calefactorium de cupro deaurato cum nodis insculptis ponderans decem unc. (*Monast. Anglic.* vol. viii, p. 1205); and the "Inventory of all jewels," etc. stolen by Henry VIII from Lincoln cathedral, A.D. 1536, enumerates: A calefactory, silver and gilt, with leaves graven, weighing nine ounces and half. (*Ibid.* p. 1281.) Belonging to Ely minster at the suppression, was: A ball, silver and gilt, fourteen ounces.—*Illustrations, etc. from the Accompts of Churchwardens*, p. 136.

[1] An imperfect Pontifical, after the English use, now in the British Museum, *Vesp. D.* 1, gives the following rubric at the service: In dedicatione ecclesiæ. Induat se episcopus brachialia et manicas lineas, ne vestes sordescant.

over the alb high up almost to the elbow, and thus hinder the cuffs of that vesture and its beautiful apparels from being splashed when the bishop, on Holy Saturday, baptized the new-born infants in the font which he had just hallowed. For as the sacrament was always, during Catholic times, no otherwise administered than by holding the child with both hands, and plunging it three times quite beneath the water,[2] the wrists needed guarding

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Cencio de' Savelli, who drew up his *Ordo Romanus* some time about the end of the twelfth century, in his chapter, "Quid debeat dominus papa facere in Sabbato sancto", says: Exuit se de pallio et planeta, et induit bracalia cerata, et revertitur ad fontes et baptizat tres parvulos.—Ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 184.

[2] The Salisbury rubric says: Accipiat sacerdos infantem per latera in manibus suis et . . . baptizet eum sub trina immersione tantum, sanctam Trinitatem invocando, ita dicens, *N. Et ego baptizo te in nomine Patris* (et mergat eum semel versa facie ad aquilonem et capite versus orientem), *et Filii* (et iterum mergat semel versa facie ad meridiem), *et Spiritus Sancti, Amen* (et mergat tercio recta facie versus aquam. (*Manuale ad Usum Eccl. Sarum*,—a manuscript of the fifteenth century in my possession.) On this account was it that all the original fonts to be still found in our old parish churches throughout the land, were deep and wide. It is to be much wished that, along with other good old Catholic English religious practices, baptism by immersion should be brought back into general use. Our present *Ordo* for baptism allows of it, for the rubric says: Ubi autem est consuetudo baptizandi per immersio-

from being wetted: hence came the use of these loose sleeves, which for better security were made of cere-cloth.

There was again another exclusively episcopal appertenance, never beheld now, and of the use of which, in olden days, liturgical writers seem quite unaware: such is

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nem, sacerdos accipit infantem, et advertens ne lædatur, cautè immergit, et trina mersione baptizat, etc. Though this sacrament is as good to the soul, and as truly given, according to whichsoever of the three ways it may happen to be administered, whether by sprinkling, by pouring, or by dipping, yet, as the last was the common form for baptism in this country through the British, the Anglo-Saxon, and the English periods, from Lucius of holy, to Henry VIII of wicked, memory, in our annals; and as this method more clearly brings before our eyes the symbolic meaning of St. Paul, when he tells us: Know you not that all we who are baptized in Christ Jesus, are baptized in his death? For we are buried together with him by baptism into death; that as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life: for if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection (*Romans*, cap. vi, vv. 3, 4, 5),—its restoration is heartily to be longed for. In the waters of baptism, the infant is buried a child whose soul is stained with sin; it arises spotless as an angel, and the child of God. How can this truth be so well told to the lookers-on as by plunging the little one beneath the cleansing waters! St. Paul makes a burial in, and immediate rising from, the water, the outward sign of this sacrament of baptism.

THE BISHOP'S PONSER,

or thumbstal, made either of beaten gold or silver, and jewelled. It was put upon the right hand thumb, that had been dipped into the chrism, or the other two holy oils, for anointing anything with the sign of the cross: out of respect to these oils, which are hallowed with such form on Maundy Thursday, and to hinder the vestment from being unduly rubbed with them, this "ponser" was put upon the bishop's thumb and kept there until that part of the liturgy whereat he always washes his hands. That these thumbstals were often very rich, and laden with pearls and rubies, is certain from a description by William of Wyckeham, in his will, of the best he had, for he possessed several. Perhaps they were peculiar to England, as in our national ecclesiastical documents is the only notice of them to be found.[3]

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[3] A Pontifical belonging to the church of Salisbury, in the service for ordaining priests, has the following rubric of what the bishop is to do after having anointed the new priest's hands: Postea lavet (episcopus) manus suas si voluerit, vel imponatur digitale .i. ponsir quousque lavat manus suas. (Ed. Maskell, *Monum. Rit. Ecc. Anglic.* t. iii, p. 213.) That this "digitale, id est, ponsir," was to go upon the thumb of the bishop's right hand, is shown by the rubric a little before the last: Episcopus depositis chirothecis .... intingat pollicem manus dexteræ suæ in oleo

Another small occasional ornament, most likely set aside for the exclusive use of the bishop, in the several diocesses of England, was a little sheath, or

CANDLE-HOLDER,

made of silver and gilt, with which the prelate could take hold on and clasp the wax taper he bore in his hand, as he walked, along with his clergy, in solemn procession on Candlemas-day, in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary.[4]

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et chrismate commixtis super patenam .... dicendo hæc verba, *Per istam unctionem*, faciat crucem super manus sacerdotis cum dicto oleo et chrismate, etc.—*Ibid.*

My gifted friend, Mr. Maskell, has put in between two brackets a note of interrogation of his own, after the word "ponsir", as much as to say,—What does it mean? Well might he ask the question, for the term is not to be found in Du Cange or any other lexicographer. The will of that truly great English churchman, William of Wykeham, happily lets us see almost its very shape, and tells us how handsomely it was often made, thus clearing away the difficulty about this word. That good bishop of Winchester, besides his larger gold pontifical ring, and his better gold chalice, bequeathed to his successor, "item ponsere meum meliorem," worked and ornamented with four rubies, and cxli pearls. (*Testam. Vet.* ed. Nicolas, t. ii, p. 767. I need not add that, hitherto, the word "ponser" has been a puzzle to our antiquaries.

[4] The celebrated Anthony, bishop of Durham, dying A.D. 1310, among other ornaments, left to his cathedral: Crucem patriarchalem argenteam et deauratam, et unum

SECTION XIII.

Not as the least conspicuous among the emblems of the episcopacy has been long looked upon the properly[5] so-called

PONTIFICAL RING,

which, to judge from the notices we have of some

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manuale ejusdem operis pro cereo suo in die Purificationis. —*Wills and Inventories*, ed. Raine, part i, p. 12.

[5] Not every ring worn by a bishop was, truly speaking, the pontifical one; but that only which he put, when vested, on the annular, or last finger but one of the right hand. Our bishops, while singing high mass, wore several rings, and particularly a large one upon the thumb. This, as well as the pontifical and every other ring, seems to have been never passed below the second joint of the finger; whereas now, bishops, like other people, wear their episcopal ring below the second joint, or between it and the knuckle. Archbishop Chicheley's figure, in Canterbury cathedral, shows the thumb-ring and the pontifical one, and both rest at the middle, not bottom of the finger. With our English bishops, a custom seems to have, at one time, prevailed, of bequeathing a ring (not, however, the pontifical one) to the reigning king. Such tokens of episcopal goodwill towards Edward I fill up a somewhat lengthy space in the very curious ward-robe accounts of that prince, wherein we see that these every-day rings worn by bishops, had usually set in them either a sapphire or a ruby. Among them were: Annulus auri cum saphiro qui fuit (fratris Willielmi quondam Dublin archiepiscopi de-

of them, and the few specimens that are still to be met with, must have been in general rich—often quite beautiful. From its very use (being worn over gloves made of silk, much thicker in their texture than now), this ring was larger and, in conformity with the style of those times, wrought more heavy than the same kind of ecclesiastical ornament is in our days.[6] Though commonly having

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functi).—*Lib. Quotid. Garderobæ Edwardi Primi*, p. 343. Anulus auri cum rubetto perforato qui fuit (Roberti Coventr' et Lich' episcopi defuncti).—*Ib.* p. 344. Anulus auri cum saphiro qui fuit J. Ebor. archiepiscopi defuncti (*Ib.* p. 345). Anulus auri cum quatuor rubettis magnis qui fuit fratris J. de Peccham, nuper Cantuar' archiepiscopi defuncti (*Ib.* p. 346). Anulus auri cum saphiro qui fuit A. Assaven' episcopi defuncti. Anulus auri cum rubetto legatus regi per W. de Cornera, quondam Sarum episcopum, receptus in garderoba . . . de executoribus testamenti ejusdem.—*Ibid.*

[6] Among the "anuli pontificales" at Canterbury cathedral, A.D. 1315, are mentioned: Unus annulus quadratus magnus, cum smaragdine oblongo, et quatuor pramis et quatuor garnettis. *Item* annulus magnus cum saphiro et quatuor pramis cum quatuor margaritis. *Item* annulus Johannis archiepiscopi, cum saphiro nigro, cum octo granis smaragdinis. *Item* annulus Roberti archiepiscopi, cum saphiro, etc. (*Dart's Canterbury*, Append. p. xiii). The rings of St. Thomas à Becket were kept apart; and his great ones are thus mentioned: Annulus pontificalis magnus, cum rubino rotundo in medio. *Item* annulus magnus cum saphiro nigro qui vocatur Lup.—*Ibid.*

for its stone a sapphire, it not unfrequently bore a deep broad emerald, or a ruby; and, to keep it in

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In the will of that great and good man, William of Wykeham, we find that he bequeathed to his successor in the bishopric of Winchester, his best book, *De Officio Pontificali*, his best missal, his larger gold pontifical ring, with a sapphire stone, surrounded with four balas-rubies, and two small diamonds and eleven pearls; also his better gold chalice.—*Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. ii, p. 767.

As now, so then, a bishop's ring, after the Anglo-Saxon period, was never graven, and could not therefore be used as a signet; hence grew the necessity for each prelate to provide himself with his own proper seal, which at his death was publicly broken up; and being, in general, of silver, the fragments of the matrix were offered at the shrine of the patron saint of his diocess. It is a common observation in some of our English ecclesiastical documents,—for example, in the bishopric of Durham: Audita morte istius, statim fracta fuerunt ejus sigilla et sancto Cuthberto oblata. (*Wills and Inventories of the Northern Counties of England*, part i, p. 1.) Post cujus mortem fracta fuerunt sigilla ejusdem, etc. (*Ib.* p. 2.) In exequiis Ricardi primi habuit ecclesia (Dunelm.) .... unum anulum aureum pontificalem, et in die sepulturæ ejus fracta fuerunt sigilla ejusdem et Sancto Cuthberto oblata. (*Ib.* p. 5.) The pieces of these seals were afterwards melted down and wrought into chalices. (*Ib.* p. 26). That these seals were broken in public, and with some ceremony, is clear from the following notice of the fact: Obiit Robertus de insula Dunelmensis episcopus. Quo sepulto, sigillum ejus publice coram omnibus a magistro Roberto Avenel est confractum. (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. 63.) Very likely

its right place, another plain but smaller ring was put upon the finger just above it.[7]

The use of the pontifical ring is of very early date in the Church:[8] among the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy, this is shown in various ritual documents of the time,[9] as well as by the finding of one of these

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the episcopal was broken in the same way as the abbatial seal, which the monks thus destroyed at the burial of the abbot, and in the open church, upon one of the steps of the high altar; as we learn from Matthew Paris, who tells us, while noticing the death and funeral ceremonies of William abbot of St. Alban's, A.D. 1235: Pulsato igitur solemni classico, deportatum est corpus in ecclesiam, sequente conventu et psallente consueta. Et illicò, vidente toto conventu et quolibet introducto, confractum est sigillum abbatis uno martello super unum graduum lapideorum ante maius altare, ita ut tota cælatura, imaginis scilicet et litterarum, deleretur.—*Vitæ S. Albani Abbatum*, p. 87.

[7] Tunc sedendo cirothecas manibus imponat et anulum pontificalem magnum, una cum uno parvo strictiori anulo ad tenendum fortius super imponat.—*Lib. Pontif. Exoniensis, Modus induendi episcopum*, p. 1.

[8] St. Isidore of Seville is a witness that, in the sixth century, the rubric of the Spanish church was, to give a ring, with all ritual form, to the bishop at his consecration: Datur et annulus (episcopo) propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum.—*De Ecc. Officiis*, lib. ii, cap. v.

[9] In the three Anglo-Saxon pontificals now in France,—two at Paris, one at Rouen,—the pontifical ring is especially noticed by the rubrics at the consecration of a bishop. Archbishop Ecgberht's pontifical says: *Cum annulus datur*

very rings when the grave of an Anglo-Saxon Bishop was opened.[10]

SECTION XIV.

From a subject which has been but slightly, if

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hæc oratio dicitur: Accipe annulum pontificalis honoris, ut sis fidei integritate munitus. (Apud Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* t. ii, lib. i, cap. viii, art. xi.) The pontifical at Rouen, and St. Dunstan's at Paris, both have *Cum annulus datur hæc oratio dicitur:* Accipe ergo annulum discretionis et honoris, fidei signum, ut quæ signanda sunt, signes, et quæ aperienda sunt, prodas, etc. (*Ib.* Ord. iii.) I am led to think, by the wording of this prayer, that the rings of Anglo-Saxon bishops were graven; and that they were employed by those prelates for sealing, and thus giving authority to their pontifical instruments, if not on every, at least some occasions. Pontifical seals like those of our English epoch, were quite unknown in Anglo-Saxon times.

[10] At the beginning of the thirteenth century, on opening, in Dorchester church, near Oxford, the grave of a bishop, supposed to be St. Birinus, among other things, was found a ring: Inventus quoque est annulus, itemque crux plumbea super pectus eius, etc.—*De S. Birino Ep. Dorcestrensi*, apud *Surium*, t. vi, p. 688.

Though by right of their degree, doctors in divinity wear a ring, they must put it off while saying mass, as none but a bishop, or a mitred prelate, may keep it on in offering up the holy sacrifice. The wearing of a ring is forbidden to those of the clergy who have not been created mitred prelates, or taken the degree of the doctorate.

at all, handled by our English ecclesiastical antiquaries, we have to pass, and speak of

THE PECTORAL CROSS,

now worn by the bishops of the Church whenever they sing or say Mass.

Of all our several kinds of figured monuments done in this country at any time while it was Catholic, whether in sculptured stone, grave-brasses, enamels, embroidery, silversmiths'-work, stained glass, wall-painting, illuminations, seals, or glazed tiles, not one shows either a bishop or an abbot wearing hung upon his breast and over his chasuble from a string or chain around his neck, anything like what is now called the pectoral cross. Moreover, in none of our written documents belonging to the same period—in none of our rituals, wills of bishops, nor inventories of cathedral jewels and precious things, is there once a mention of it. What we say of England, may be with the same truth said of the whole Church; and it is remarkable, that while both Pope Innocent III and St. Thomas of Aquino are most minute in reckoning up the vestments and ornaments distinctively belonging to bishops in their days, and always worn by them when solemnly arrayed for the holy sacrifice, those two writers never drop a word about the pectoral cross, as one of those adornments which the prelate should have on.[11] From all this

we are led to believe, that the formal use of the pectoral cross, as now worn over the chasuble, goes no further back than the middle of the sixteenth century.[12] At the same time, however, there

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[11] See t. i, p. 496 of this work. As late as the end of the twelfth century, when Innocent III wrote, it seems from what he says that, at least according to the Latin rite, no one but the Roman pontiff formally put on the pectoral cross while vesting for Mass; for in a chapter expressly on this subject, and headed "Quare Romanus Pontifex post Albam orale et post orale crucem assumat", the pope, in comparing the liturgical vestments worn by the high-priest of the old law with those of the high-priest of the Christian dispensation, observes: Et quia signo crucis auri lamina cessit, pro lamina quam pontifex ille gerebat in fronte, pontifex iste crucem gerit in pectore.... Ideoque Romanus pontifex crucem quandam insertam cathenulis a collo suspensam sibi statuit ante pectus (*De Sac. Altaris Myst.* lib. i, cap. lii, fol. 19, b). Not a word is spoken, either here or elsewhere, by this eminent liturgist, of drawing out this cross from beneath the chasuble; hence, though hanging round the neck but hidden under this vestment, it is never shown on any of the old figures of the popes.

[12] Though Durand follows the same enumeration of episcopal ornaments as Innocent III and St. Thomas, as we find in his *Rationale* (lib. iii, cap. i, n. 7), still, however, in a pontifical of his, when he had been made bishop of Mande, he has inserted this rubric: Crux pectoralis, si quis ea velit uti (Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii. *Ord.* xiii, p. 221). The whole of Durand's rubric is, as is usual with him, borrowed without acknow-

is undeniable proof that what we may safely say gave rise to the present pectoral cross, was in existence many ages ago, and this is

THE RELIQUARY WORN AROUND THE NECK BY ALL ENGLISH BISHOPS WHENEVER THEY SANG HIGH MASS.

As in other countries,[13] so from the earliest days

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ledgment from other documents, and seems nothing but an abridged transcript of a passage in an *Ordo Romanus* which Mabillon and earlier ritualists have upon good grounds attributed to Cardinal Gaëtano, Durand's contemporary. Among the sacred ornaments which, according to the writer of this *Ordo* should be got ready for a cardinal bishop, are: Amictus, alba, cingulum cum subcinctorio . . . crux pectoralis, stola, etc. (*Ordo Rom.* xiv, Mabil. *Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 288.) From the way in which the *Ordo* and its copyist, Durand, speak, we may conclude that the cross was put round the neck over the alb, and left to hang there quite hidden by the chasuble.

[13] The reliquary which St. Gregory the Great used to wear commonly about his neck, is thus described by John the deacon, who wrote the pontiff's life, A.D. 875: Reliquiarum phylacteria, tenui argento fabricata, vilique pallio de collo suspensa fuisse videntur (*Vita S. Gregorii Papæ*, lib. iv, cap. xv, n. 80, p. 205. *AA. SS. Martii*, t. ii). Another illustrious ornament of God's Church, and the Roman pontiff's contemporary, called, too, by the same name, St. Gregory of Tours, in telling us of a miracle which he himself witnessed wrought by the Almighty through the relics which the holy bishop wore in a gold

of Christianity in this island among the Anglo-Saxons, the practice was for lay-folks and churchmen (bishops in particular) to wear at all times a reliquary, often fashioned in the shape of a cross, hanging on their breast. Of St. Wilfrid, Eddi, his friend and the writer of his life, tells us, that queen Ermenburga had the one which that holy archbishop of York always carried about his person, stolen from around his neck while he lay in the prison into which he had been thrown by her husband Ecgfrith, king of the Northumbrians.[14]

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cross hung within the folds of his garments on his breast, lets us know that such was the pious usage of those times in Gaul; and considering the neighbourhood and Christian intercourse between the two countries, what he says must be looked upon as evidence of the Britons' practice: Hujus beatæ Virginis reliquias (writes the Gaulish prelate) cum sanctorum Apostolorum, vel beati Martini, quadam vice super me in cruce aurea positas exhibebam. Cumque per viam graderemur, conspicio haud procul à via hospitiolum cujusdam pauperis incendio concremari. . . . Tunc extractam a pectore crucem elevo contra ignem, etc. (*De Gloria Martyr.* lib. i, cap. xi, p. 735, ed. Ruinart.) The wording of this passage, "extractam a pectore crucem", shows that the cross holding these relics was not worn outwardly, but muffled up beneath the bishop's daily dress.

[14] Regina vero . . . . chrismarium hominis Dei sanctis reliquiis repletum . . . de se abstractum in thalamo suo manens aut curru pergens, juxta se pependit (*Eddius, Vita S. Wilfridi Ebor.* cap. xxxiii, ed. Gale, t. iii, p. 69). That St. Wilfrid wore this reliquary about his neck, we are

Moreover, the golden reliquary made like a cross, which our countryman St. Willibrord used to carry about his person whenever he travelled, and after his death was stolen by a worthless deacon from the church wherein that holy bishop lay buried, as we gather through the prose and poetry of another star in our annals—the learned Alcuin—must have no doubt been worn hanging from around his neck by the Anglo-Saxon apostle of the Frisons.[15] Besides his sandals, the neck cross (for so it was then called in this country) of our glorious Anglo-Saxon martyred archbishop of Canterbury, St. Elphege, is particularly noticed by Osbern the monk of Canterbury.[16]

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expressly told by Eddi: Sanctas reliquias quas regina de collo spoliati (Wilfridi) abstraxit.—*Ib.* cap. xxxviii, p. 71.

[15] In his prose life of St. Willibrord, Alcuin speaks thus of that theft: Quidam etiam officio diaconus, et nonmerito, in ecclesia sancti viri crucem auream, quam vir sanctus secum in itinere portare solebat . . . . non horruit subtrahere furto (*Alcuini Op.* t. ii, p. 193, ed. Frobenio). From what he says in the metrical notice of the saint, we are able to collect that the stolen cross was in fact a reliquary:

> Altaris juvenis corrupta mente minister
> Clam rapuit quædam sancti donaria templi
> Tollitur ac sævo quædam crux aurea furto
> Quam Christi famulus secum portare solebat
> Dum pius egit iter, Christo comitante, viator,
> Reliquias propter multas quas condit in illa.

—*Ibid.* cap. xxxii, p. 200.

[16] Collariam martyris crucem (*Vita S. Elphigi, AA. SS.*

The reliquary so often fashioned in the shape of a cross—most probably because it held a hair-like splinter of the true holy rood, either stuck upon, or shut up within a little one made out of common wood[17]—was not only worn in England as much

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Aprilis, t. ii, n. 40, p. 641). Besides a ring and a psalter, Archbishop Ælfric bequeathed to Archbishop Wulfston a neck-cross: And he becwæð Uulfstane aercebiscope ane sweor-rode, and anne ring, and anne psaltere; and Ælfheage biscope anne rode (*Codex Dip. Anglo-Sax.* ed. Kemble, t. iii, p. 352). When the body of a bishop, thought to be that of St. Birinus, was taken up out of its grave in Dorchester church, near Oxford, A.D. 1224, a metal cross was found lying on his breast: Quidam canonicus dixit .... invenisse corpus episcopi integrum cum duplici stola et infula rubra è panno serico, atque cum cruce è metallo confecta, pectori ejus imposita: denique cum calice ad umbilicum ejus posito.—*De S. Birino ep. Dorcest.* apud Surium, t. vi, p. 688.

Reginald of Durham says not a word of any cross being met with amid the episcopal ornaments in which the body of St. Cuthberht was dressed, when the monks opened and looked into his coffin at the translation of the saint's relics, A.D. 1104 (*Reginaldi Monachi Dunelm. Libellus de Admirand. S. Cuthberti*, p. 84). But upon the unknown bishop, whose body was, as late as A.D. 1827, ungraved in Durham cathedral, a gold cross, studded with one large and several small garnets, and evidently hung by a string from around the neck, was found hidden among the folds of silken vestments on the breast of the prelate: the shape of it may be seen in Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, pl. i.

[17] Large crosses of wood, upon which short thread-like

after St. Osmund's days as it used to be among the Anglo-Saxon bishops, but in time came, by the rubrics of our English pontificals, to be a required ornament for the prelate whenever he vested himself in all his pontifical array.[18] From this it fol-

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chips from the true cross were glued, have been at times mistaken by the heedless traveller, or shamelessly passed off by exaggerating and boastful sacristans, for so many portions of the true cross itself: hence those who are always but too glad to throw a slur upon the Catholic Church and her practices, have laughed and said that, were all the fragments which are, throughout Christendom, shown as pieces of the cross gathered into one heap, there would be enough timber to build a ship of war. What though the remark be accurate with regard to the crosses themselves of common wood on which are pasted, or within which are shut up, these little, thin, almost indiscernible parings from the true cross, the sneer cannot apply to these parings themselves, all of which, if brought together and put into a scale, would not weigh many ounces.

[18] In Bishop Lacy's pontifical, a liturgical manuscript written here in England some time during the fourteenth century, there is "Modus induendi episcopum ad solempniter celebrandum", according to which: Induat(episcopus) amictum, albam, et stolam, et reliquias circa collum.—*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Barnes, p. 3.

Not only were the "relics to be hung around the bishop's neck, after he had put on his amice, alb, and stole", inclosed within a cross-shaped reliquary, but sometimes in little cases, and of these no mean specimen, I suspect, is the one found, not many years ago, by a labourer in a field near Devizes, where I lately saw it: measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in

lows, that what is now rightly known under the title of the bishop's pectoral cross, was, strictly speaking, never among an English prelate's liturgical appertenances according to St. Osmund's rite for his church of Salisbury; and, in all likelihood, the use of this ornament, as it is now worn over the chasuble, began in those countries which adopted the Roman pontifical, only just after the fall of the Catholic Church in this kingdom.

SECTION XV.

The next prelatic ensign that asks our notice, is

THE PASTORAL STAFF,

the very ancient liturgical use of which is beyond a doubt; whatever darkness may hang over its first form, and how unknown at present the exact

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breadth, by 1⅞ high, and made of the purest gold, it is enameled on one side with the figure of St. John the Baptist, on the other, with an archbishop's, in all likelihood St. Thomas of Canterbury, arrayed in his pontificals: at bottom it shows this inscription, *A mon* ✠ *derrayne*, which may perhaps mean, *To my after-comer*, thus willing it to be a kind of heir-loom in the bishopric. It opens in two, so that relics might be put inside; and at top there is a small ring, through which could have been run a cord or chain for hanging it about the neck. It now belongs to the Rev. W. Maskell, and may be seen figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. v, p. 157.

material the practice was to choose for the making of it.

That a staff of some kind was solemnly put into the hands of the newly-consecrated bishop, for a token of ghostly rule over his people, we are told by St. Isidore of Seville,[19] in the sixth century; and ecclesiastical documents of our own island show it to have been looked upon as one among the emblems of episcopal jurisdiction, and therefore it was delivered with ritual solemnity to the Anglo-Saxon bishop at his consecration.[20]

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[19] Huic autem (episcopo) dum consecratur, datur baculus, ut eius indicio subditam plebem vel regat, vel corrigat, vel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat (*S. Isidori, De Eccl. Officiis*, lib. ii, cap. v). Almost a hundred years before the days of this eminent Spanish bishop, who flourished towards A.D. 596, we have proof of the importance given to this emblem of episcopal authority, for we find recorded in the life of St. Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, A.D. 502, written by one of his own clergy, that the saint's pastoral staff was on public occasions borne before him by one of his clerks as he went to church: Cum vir Dei . . . ad aliam ecclesiam pergeret, clericus cui cura erat baculum illius portare, quod notariorum officium erat, oblitus est, in quo ministerio ego serviebam. Tunc loci illius incolæ cum eum invenissent . . . virgam ipsam de pariete suspendunt.—*Vita S. Cæsarii Arel. AA. SS. Augusti*, tom. vi, p. 79.

[20] *Cum datur baculus hæc oratio dicitur:* Accipe baculum pastoralis officii, et sis in corrigendis vitiis sæviens, etc. (*Ordinatio Episcopi in Pontificali Ecgberti Eborac.* ed. Martene, *De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* t. ii, lib. i, cap. viii, art. xi, p.

The origin of the pastoral staff perhaps was two-fold: needed at first to uphold the tottering feebleness of the aged priest who had been called to watch as head shepherd over his own little corner of Christ's fold, the old man's walking-stick crept slowly into liturgical use, till at length it came to be acknowledged the emblem of the overseeing office entrusted to the Church's bishops, and, like every other appertenance of the sanctuary, had befitting decorations bestowed upon it. But if it afforded help to the venerable personage who bore it in his hands, it became a symbol of his spiritual authority. From the earliest monuments in sacred or profane art—from the most archaic fictile vases of Greece and Sicily, as well as from the oldest frescoes in the Roman catacombs, we find that during all periods, and among every nation, a wand was considered the emblem of power and command: so has it continued to be, and still is, under one form or another, from the king's sceptre down to the lowliest staff of office. This will explain why, from a very early period until now, not only bishops, but abbots, nay, even abbesses too, should have been allowed the use, after a certain manner, of the pastoral staff.

What at first may have been the shape of the

32.) The same rubric and the same prayer are to be found in an Anglo-Saxon pontifical now at Rouen, and in St. Dunstan's, at Paris.—*Ibid.* p. 41.

pastoral staff, it is hard, at such a wide distance of time, to determine; but from those found in the ninth century hanging over the graves of bishops, then long since dead, it would seem they were bent at top.[21] The very word, too, of "cambutta", or crook-headed walking-stick,[22] one of the terms

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[21] In relating a miracle which happened in the church of St. Denis, near Paris, an unknown writer of that house tells us that a poor countryman: Videt . . . introire senem clericum pontificalibus vestibus exornatum, ferentemque in manu baculum a capite arcuatum in ima reflexum, qualibus antiquiores pontifices usos fuisse, ad memorias eorum suspensi declarant.—*Vita S. Dionysii Ep. Paris. ab anon.* ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* t. iv, p. 312.

[22] This was the first meaning of cambutta. The reader should know that, for many centuries, a usage prevailed for aged and sickly ecclesiastics to carry along with them into church a short staff, upon which they might lean as they stood in the choir, or about the altar, taking part in the public service; and in some countries, though the bishop might have even his pastoral staff in one hand, in the other he held this short stick,—for Mabillon met with an illumination wherein bishops having both staves at the same time were figured. (*De Cursu Gallicano*, p. 435). These low staves are mentioned in several old documents. St. Martin of Tours gave his own to the youthful Victurius (who was afterwards bishop of Le Mans), as we learn from an old manuscript life of the latter saint, quoted by Mabillon: Cui (S. Victurio) Martinus dedit baculum seu sustentaculum super quod solent sacerdotes fusis orationibus sustentari. (*Ibid.*) While the gospel was being read, these staves were laid down, as Amalarius tells us: Usque

employed at an early period, and borrowed by the Church from the Armoric, or rather, our own insular British tongue, to signify this liturgical appliance,[23] tells us that the pastoral staff of olden times, like what the shepherd's crook has always

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ad istud officium, baculis sustentabamur; modo, ut oportet servos ante Dominum stare, humiliter stamus deponentes baculos e manibus. (*De Eccl. Off.* lib. iii, cap. xviii, p. 413.) About Amalarius's time, the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 816, published a rule for canons regular, and in chap. 131 ordained: Studendum summopere canonice prædictas horas vigilantissima cura custodire . . . Nec cum baculis in choro exceptis debilibus, sed religiosissime illis standum et psallendum est. (*Concil. Gen.* t. vi, p. 285, ed. Binio.) As late as the middle of the twelfth century, the use of these low, plain staves lasted, for Honorius of Autun, in his beautiful *Gemma Animæ*, lib. i, cap. 24, *De baculis*, says: Dum evangelium legitur, baculi de manibus deponuntur.

[23] In many old documents the pastoral staff, whether it be for bishops' or abbots' use, is called "cambutta." Writing, c. A.D. 842, the life of St. Gall, who died A.D. 646, Walafrid Strabo speaks of St. Colombanus's abbatial staff under such a name: Baculum ipsius (Columbani) quem vulgo cambottam vocant, per manum diaconi transmiserunt (*Vita S. Galli*, cap. xxvi, ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* t. ii, p. 233); and in our own Anglo-Saxon pontificals, such as St. Dunstan's, we find the episcopal staff so designated: Pontifex ter super liminare ecclesiæ cambuta sua aut baculo percutiat, etc.—*Ordo quomodo domus Dei consecranda est, Pontificale S. Dunstani*, ed. Martene, *De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* t. ii, lib. ii, cap. xiii, p. 255.

been, was curved at the upper end. Such, however, was not the invariable form, at least in this island, for at one time our Anglo-Saxon bishops used pastoral staves which were quite straight all up and capped by a knob or ball, as is shown by the figure of a bishop, vested in a cope and holding his pastoral staff in his right hand, preserved to us by an illumination in an Anglo-Saxon pontifical, and well copied in our wood-cut, which we gave while speaking of the cope.[24] This, too, must have often been its shape abroad, for while Charlemagne was away carrying on war against the Huns, a bishop, whom he had left at court, so far let his vanity outstrip his good sense, as to try and get the absent emperor's sceptre for a pastoral staff;[25] which emblem of kingly power, then as now, was

[24] A wood-cut of an Anglo-Saxon illumination, given before, p. 24 of this volume, shews the form of the pastoral staff used in this country at that period.

[25] Idem quoque episcopus, cum bellicosissimus Carolus in bello contra Hunos esset occupatus . . . in tantam progressus est proterviam, ut virgam auream . . . Caroli quam ad statum suum fieri iussit, feriatis diebus vice baculi ferendam pro episcopali ferula improvidus ambiret. On hearing of such an idle wish, Charlemagne, after he came home, took an opportunity to rebuke the bishop, in these words: Sceptrum nostrum quod pro significatione regiminis nostri aureum ferre solemus, pro pastorali baculo nobis ignorantibus vendicare voluisset.—*Monachus Sangallensis*, lib. i, cap. xix, *De Eccl. Cura Caroli M.* ed. Du Chene, *Hist. Franc. Script.* t. ii, p. 113.

a straight rod or wand, not crooked at top, but ending in a flower, or some such ornament.[26]

Wood, no doubt, though perhaps of the choicest kinds, such as ebony, cedar, or cypress, furnished the material for the pastoral staff in the earlier ages of the Church in this island;[27] and of wood, though

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[26] Not unlike a tall, tapering walking-stick, are two out of the three sceptres used by Charles the Bald, as we find by the illuminations in the Bible given him by the monks of Metz, and in his own prayer-book. Some of these curious paintings have been engraved by Baluze, and may be seen at the end of vol. ii of his *Capitularia Reg. Franc.* pp. 848, 849. One sceptre is short, and flowered at the top; another, the tall one, has neither flower nor ball; the third, as tall and tapering as the second, is tipped, like the emperor Lothair's (*Voyage des deux Bénéd.* t. ii, p. 136), with a smallish ball. In the same Bible is figured a bishop, holding in his left hand a pastoral staff slightly curved at top.

[27] That the pastoral staff, among the Anglo-Saxons, used to be made of wood, is shown by the one of simple elder-berry-tree, once belonging to St. Burchard, and which hung for many ages over his grave. St. Burchard was one among the several Anglo-Saxons whom our holy countryman, St. Boniface, called over to Germany as helpers in the harvest of souls, and where Burchard was consecrated, by that apostle of Franconia, the first bishop of Wirtzburg. While speaking of the saint's pastoral staff, Egilward the monk says: In loco sepulturæ ejus servatur virga sambucea .... pastor Burchardus cum sua pastorali virga modernis pastoribus, qui pascentes semet-ipsos, vix in ipsis baculis suis aliqua carent pompa. (*Vita*

hidden by gilding, it is often made for the Catholic bishops of this country to the present day. Churchmen in the twelfth century purposely composed it from several materials: its stem was made of wood, shod with iron, blunted, not sharp, at its foot, and surmounted by a small knob of rock-crystal, or of one or other of the precious metals, from which sprang out the crook itself, carved in ivory, with this sentence running round it—*Dum iratus fueris, misericordiæ recordaberis;* while upon the ball beneath was written the word *Homo*, and the spike at the lower end bore this injunction—*Parce.* Thus the bishop, by the very emblem of his high spiritual power, was warned, though

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S. Burchardi, Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* t. iii, p. 650.) It is not, however, unlikely that here, as well as abroad, the pastoral staff was composed of gold and silver, and adorned with crystal, during the ninth century: Baculus auro, argento, et crystallo paratus i, præparatio baculi unius ex crystallo. (*Descrip. Thesau. S. Richarii*, A.D. 831, *Chron. Centul.* ed. D'Achery, *Spicil.* tom. ii, p. 310.) For later times, many evidences might be brought forwards: when Stephen, abbot of St. Geneviève's, at Paris, was chosen, A.D. 1159, bishop of Tornay, together with their congratulations, he had sent him from the abbot and the brotherhood of a religious house, a pastoral staff of cypress-wood: Munusculum vobis mittimus de remotis partibus nobis missum baculum pastoralem cypressinum, officio vestro et qualitate mysterii congruum, et quantitate ministerii condignum.—*Stephani Tornacensis Epist.* 234, ed. Binio, *Biblioth. Vet. Pat.* t. xii, parte ii, p. 542.

angered, not to be wrathful—to keep in remembrance, being but a man himself, he ought to watch over his own heart, and let not the thoughts of his dignity uplift him—and even while bringing the iron strength and correction of Church-discipline to bear against sinners, still he must be mild, not harsh.[28]

Very soon, however, it became to the ecclesiastical artist an object of thoughtful concern; and the ivory,[29] the silver, and the gold, the precious

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[28] Baculus ex auctoritate legis et evangelii assumitur, qui et virga pastoralis, et capuita, et ferula, et pedum dicitur (*Gemma Animæ*, lib. i, cap. 217, *De baculo episcopali*). Hic baculus ex osse et ligno efficitur, crystallina vel deaurata sperula conjungitur, in supremo capite insignitur, in extremo ferro acuitur, etc. (*Ib.* cap. 219.) Os recurvatur, ut populus errans per doctrinam ad Dominum retrahatur. In curvatura est scriptum, *Dum iratus fueris, misericordiæ recordaberis*, ne ob culpam gregis superet ira mentem pastoris, etc. In sperula est scriptum, *Homo*, quatenus se hominem memoraretur, et de potestate collata non elevetur. Juxta ferrum est scriptum, *Parce*, ut subjectis in disciplina parcat . . . unde ferrum debet esse retusum, etc. —*Ib.* cap. 220.

[29] A few years ago I saw, amid several other ecclesiastical appertenances, in a private collection of medieval antiquities in London, a most delicately-carved pastoral staff, the whole in the finest ivory. By its style it seemed to be a work of the early part of the fourteenth century, and done by an English hand. Of this kind may have been the ivory one mentioned among the Salisbury orna-

stones[30] and the enamels[31] brought to him for its formation and adornment, were all wrought up

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ments, A.D. 1222: Baculi pastorales iiij, quorum unus est eburneus.—Part iii, p. 106, of this work.

[30] The treasuries of our English cathedrals could, in olden days, display many a splendid pastoral staff. Salisbury had hers: Baculus pastoralis argenteus pretiosus bene deauratus cum lapidibus pretiosis.—*Ut suprà.*

[31] The variety of material employed in England for making pastoral staves, may be seen from the list of those belonging to Canterbury cathedral, A.D. 1315:

Baculi pastorales.

Baculus cedrinus cum ix angelis aureus Johannis archiepiscopi.

Baculus ejusdem argenteus anealatus cum floribus de Liz.

Baculus albus eburneus.

Baculus Sancti Thomæ de pyro cum capite de nigro cornu.

Baculus de Lynde, cum capite de nigro cornu et paucis gemmis ornatus.

Baculus beati archiepiscopi cum gemmis ornatus cum majestate et episcopo argenteo in capite.—*Dart's Canterbury*, Append. p. xii.

At Winchester cathedral there were: Three pastoral staves of silver and gilt. Item, one pastoral staff of an unicorn's horn.—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. i, p. 203.

Kept to this day, at his magnificent foundation, New College, Oxford, is William of Wykeham's pastoral staff, which, studded as it is all over with enamels, and with its beautifully wrought little tabernacles running story above story, peopled by small but graceful figures of saints,

with such skilful cunning, especially by the hands of workmen in this country, that it often happened a bishop's pastoral staff, belonging to one of our larger churches, came to be valued for its beauty as a work of art, quite as much as it was for the richness and worth of the gold and jewels which shone about it: such was the magnificent pastoral staff which one of the Norman robbers of our Anglo-Saxon minsters, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, ran away with from Durham cathedral.[32]

Both in this country and abroad, it was a custom of early introduction, to speak of the pastoral staff

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exhibits a bright proof of how able were our ancient silversmiths. Another precious, though hitherto seldom noticed, specimen of old English workmanship, is the pastoral staff of Bishop Fox, at Corpus Christi College, built by him at Oxford.

[32] Quædam etiam ex ornamentis ecclesiæ (Dunelmensis) inter quæ et baculum pastoralem materia et arte mirandum, erat enim de saphiro factus, præfatus episcopus abstulit. (*Simeonis Dunelm. Hist. de Dunelm. Ecc.* lib. iii, cap. xxiv, ed. Twysden, t. i, p. 48.) Not only Norman bishops, but Norman monks, were guilty of pilfering our Anglo-Saxon church ornaments: "Isto enim tempore", says the historian of Abingdon monastery, "erant in hac domo quidam monachi et sacristæ de cœnobio Gemeticensi qui ornamenta quamplurima a beato Æthelwoldo laboriose adquisita et huic domui collata, tam aurea quàm argentea eruderato penitus argento a rota memorata, secum in Normaniam fraudulenter asportaverunt."—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. i, p. 516, new edit.

as distinguishable into two different portions, the long straight part, or staff itself, and the twisted top, appropriately called "cambutta" or crook.[33]

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[33] Such a distinction of parts is well expressed in the inventory of ornaments belonging, A.D. 1295, to St. Paul's cathedral, London: Baculus Ricardi episcopi, cujus cambuca de argento deaurato. Baculus ejusdem cum cambuca cornea continens interius vineam circumplectentem leonem de cupro deaurato. Baculus cujus cambuca est cornea continens massam cupream deauratam fusam in ymagines multas, et pomellum similis operis insertis lapidibus. Baculus cum cambuca eburnea continente agnum. Baculus qui fuit Henrici di Wengham, de argento triphoriato et deaurato, cujus cambuca continet ymaginem Pauli ex parte una, et cujusdem archiepiscopi ex parte alia, et in circuitu inseruntur lapides turkesii et gernectæ et baculus ligneus de tribus peciis ornatus tribus circulis argenteis insertis lapidibus . . . cujus pes est de argento deaurato. (*Dugdale's St. Paul's*, p. 316.) Gaufredus de Loduno, bishop of Le Mans, A.D. 1254, gave to that church: Cambutam argenteam magni ponderis deauratam et opere decoram cum baculo pastorali.—*Gesta Gaufridi de Loduno, Ep. Cenomannensis*, ed. Mabillon, *Vet. Analect.* t. iii, p. 390.

The head, or crook, of the pastoral staff, called "cambutta" and "cambuca," seems to have been, in some parts of this country, known under the name of "cruche-head," as we may gather from the inventory of church-plate stolen by Henry VIII from Fountains abbey, at the same time that we learn how beautiful and costly must have been those two which belonged to that house; and are thus described, along with what must have been a processional cross: One cross-head, silvered and gilt, with an image,

With respect to abbots and abbesses, the usage was in Catholic England for the bishop who consecrated them, to put into the hands, both of one and the other, as the case might be, a pastoral staff: besides this, the abbess received a ring,[34]

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weight thirty-two ounces; one cruche-head, gilt, weight forty-six ounces; one staff of silver, ungilt, for the same cruche-head; one head of a cruche of silver, gilt, weight a hundred ounces; the staff of the cruche, gilt, weight seventy ounces.—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. v, p. 290.

But earlier still, Jocelin, the monk of St. Edmund's, marks this distinction, while he records the donations bestowed upon that house by his friend, its abbot, Sampson, A.D. 1197: Optulit conventui casulam preciosam et mitram auro intextam, et sandalia cum caligis sericis, et cambucam virge pastoralis argenteam et bene operatam.—*Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, ed. Rokewode, p. 64.

[34] Not only to the abbess, at her installation, but to every nun, on taking the veil, a ring was, and yet is given. The celebrated John Duke of Bedford bestowed a ring each upon those nuns who made their religious vows at the opening of Syon House Convent, founded by his brother, King Henry V, as is recorded in the original martyrology belonging to that monastery. At folio ii, verso, of that manuscript, now in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury, there is the following entry: Anno Domini MCCCCXXVI. In die Sce. Agathe Virginis et Martiris, feria iij, positus erat primus lapis in fundamento ecclesiæ monasterii de Syon in parochia de Istilworthe, per Johannem Ducem Bethfordie fratrem fundatoris nostri (Henrici Quinti Regis Angliæ) presente magistro Henrico Bewforde episcopo Wynchestrie et magistro Johanne Kempe episcopo Lon-

which, however, was not bestowed upon any abbot, unless his house were a mitred abbey.[35] According to the present Roman pontifical, abbots still receive a pastoral staff, but not abbesses, when they are blessed for their respective offices by the Church, after their election: abbesses, however, in our English convents, though they have ceased to be solemnly presented with it after the old rite of Sarum,[36] keep up, in a certain way, a remembrance

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dinensi qui benedixit et sanctificavit eundem lapidem iacentem in aquilonari angulo ad orientalem plagam predicte ecclesiæ. Dux iste dedit omnibus sororibus prime professionis anulos quibus profitebantur.

[35] Postea tradat ei (abbati) baculum, dicens modesta voce: *Accipe baculum pastoralis officii, quem preferas caterve tibi commisse ad exemplum juste severitatis et correctionis.* Si sit anulandus et mitrandus tunc dentur sibi. (*Benedictio Abbatis, Liber Pontificalis Exoniensis*, p. 105). Matthew Paris calls the abbot's staff "baculus choralis", and lets us know that, at St. Alban's, though elected, no abbot might carry his staff until he had been solemnly blessed: In processionibus supremus procedet, ut alius senior, non in medio choralem ferens baculum.—*Vitæ Abb.* p. 92.

[36] Post det ei (abbatissæ) baculum, dicens: *Accipe baculum pastoralis officii*, etc. Tunc det ei annulum, dicens: *Accipe annulum, fidei signaculum, Spiritus Sancti ut sponsa voceris, et sic ei fideliter servias.* Postea installetur per episcopum si in proprio monasterio fuerit benedicta, ut abbates installantur, etc.—*Benedictio Abbatisse, ib.* p. 113. Several of our church monuments show us abbesses with the pastoral staff; among the rest, the interesting high

of the ancient custom, and usually have a pastoral staff leaning by the side of their chair in the choir.

Not only bishops, but abbots took their pastoral staff with them when they went to a council.[37] Every reader of English history will readily call to mind that touching passage in the life of St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, whom Archbishop Lanfranc, with most blameworthy obsequiousness to King William's unlawful wishes, and quite forgetting the canons of the Church, sought to depose—the Anglo-Saxon bishop of an Anglo-Saxon people—from his see, because forsooth he could not talk the language of the Norman stranger. Refusing to yield up his bishopric to any one but his late sovereign, Edward the Confessor, the good

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tomb, in Oxford cathedral, of the lady Montacute, one of whose four daughters, figured below on the sides, became a nun and abbess, who stands with her hands joined, and having her staff leaning against her left shoulder. The abbess in the Louterell Psalter holds in her right hand a staff, the crook of which is beautifully carved; so, too, does Elizabeth Harvey, abbess of Elstow, in her grave-brass, etched by Waller.

[37] Speaking of the council held at Rheims, A.D. 1119, Simeon, the monk of Durham, says: Ad hoc concilium multiplex factus est archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum et principum diversarum provinciarum concursus cum clericorum . . . numerosa multitudine. Numeratæ sunt ibi personarum pastoralium virgæ ccccxxiv, inter quos et Turstinus Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus electus, etc.—*De Gestis Reg. Angl.* ed. Twysden, t. i, p. 240.

bishop went to that king's grave in the church of Westminster, where they were then assembled, and thrusting his pastoral staff into the hard stone which covered the royal corpse, left it standing there, miraculously upright, and so fastly rooted that no other hand but his own could draw it out.[38]

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[38] Apud hunc (Lanfrancum) vir Domini Wulstanus simplicitatis et imperitiæ accusatur, et quasi homo ydiota et sine literis deponendus, rege consentiente, vel etiam hoc ipsum præscribente decernitur. Igitur in synodo quam apud Westmonasterium rege præsente celebravit Lanfrancus, inter cætera quæ tractavit negotia, jubet venerabilem virum baculum resignare cum anulo. At vir Domini nec vultu mutatus nec animo, erexit se, et virgam pastoralem manu tenens: "Vere," inquit, "domine archiepiscope, vere scio quia nec hoc honore dignus sum, nec huic ydoneus oneri nec sufficiens labori: sciebam hoc cum me clerus eligeret, cum episcopi cogerent, cum me dominus rex meus Edwardus ad hoc officium invitaret. Ipse auctoritate sedis Apostolicæ in meos humeros hoc onus refudit et per hunc baculum me episcopali gradu investiri præcepit. Et nunc pastoralem tu virgam exigis quam non tradidisti, officium adimis quod non contulisti. Et ego quidem insufficientiam non ignorans, et tuæ sanctæque synodi sententiæ cedens resignabo baculum, sed non tibi, sed ei potius cujus eum auctoritate suscepi." Hæc cum dixisset, cum suis accessit ad lapidem quo gloriosissimi regis exuviæ claudebantur, et stans ante sepulchrum: "Tu scis," inquit, "domine mi, Edwarde, quam invitus hoc onus susceperim . . . Et ecce novus rex, nova lex, novus pontifex, nova jura condunt, novas promulgant sententias . . . tibi, inquam, resigno baculum, tibi curam eorum quos mihi commendasti dimitto."

In those days, too, it would seem, that our bishops carried about with them their pastoral staff on most occasions, for we find that Ranulf, bishop of Durham, had his with him when he was shut up a prisoner in the Tower of London; and took care not to forget it when he escaped.[30]

Hæc cum dixisset, elevata paululum manu, in lapidem quo sanctum corpus tegebatur infixit baculum. "Accipe," inquiens, "domine mi rex, et cui libuerit trade illum." Et sic descendens ab altari exutus pontificalibus inter monachos ipse monachus simplex resedit. Admirabantur omnes cernentes virgam immersam silici et quasi radicibus niteretur, neque ad dextram neque ad sinistram declinare. Temptant eam quidam evellere; sed illa stabat immobilis. .... Tunc præsul Lanfrancus, novitate miraculi stupefactus, et regem volens tantæ ammirationis esse participem, mittit qui eum in synodum evocarent. Advenienti cum proceribus assurgit Lanfrancus, simulque ad regis tumulum properantes, facta oratione manum apponit pontifex, baculum temptat eruere, sed obsistente sancti Regis virtute conatus ejus desiderato caret effectu.... Tum Lanfrancus ad sanctum (Wulstanum) accedens, inquit: "Accede, frater mi, accede ad dominum tuum, immo et nostrum: credimus enim quod sancta ejus dextera quæ nobis baculum negavit, tibi laxata manu facile resignabit."

His dictis, sanctus pontifex sua usus simplicitate paruit imperanti, et accedens ad altare, "Ecce," inquit, "ego, domine mi, Edwarde, ecce ego qui me tuo commisi judicio." ... Hæc dicens, levi tactu virgam temptat evellere, quæ manu ejus sequuta, ac in molli luto fuisset impressa desiliit.—*Ailredus Abbas Rievallis de Vita et Miraculis Edwardi Conf. Decem Scriptores*, col. 406, ed. Twysden.

But the pastoral staff, fashioned like a shepherd's crook, was not the only emblem which the head of a brotherhood of monks could wield, in this country, for a sign of his spiritual authority within the house entrusted to his jurisdiction: a plain, thick, silver wand and, instead of the crook, bearing at top a solid knob or ball, somewhat resembling the pilgrim's staff, and, like it, called

THE BORDON,

was used in some of the monastic establishments of England. As not a few of our cathedrals were, against the universal practice of the Church, served, not by secular canons, but Benedictine monks, in such communities, not an abbot, but a prior had assigned to him its government. In these instances, this latter personage often was honoured with the privilege of arraying himself for Mass, and other liturgical functions, in full pontificals;[40] but the

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[39] Ranulfus Flambardus, episcopus funem ad columnam quæ in medio fenestræ arcis erat, coaptavit, et baculum pastoralem secum sumens, per funem descendit.—*Orderici Vitalis Ecclesias. Hist.* lib. x, p. 786.

[40] For the privilege granted to John de Evesham, Prior of Worcester, and to all who should come after him, as such, in that church, see note 48, p. 115, of this volume, as well the following one.

As late as the last century, the provosts of some cathedrals abroad had the use of the pastoral staff on solemn occasions. Of his visit to Toulouse cathedral, Martene

probability is, there might be found more examples than that of Worcester cathedral, where, instead of the regular pastoral staff with its crook, like the one carried by a bishop or an abbot, the cathedral prior was suffered to use only the silver bordon,[41] which may be not unfitly here called

THE PRIOR'S STAFF.

When some of our native writers speak of the

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says: On nous fit voir dans la sacristie le bâton pastoral que le prevôt porte lorsqu'il officie solemnellement.—*Voyage Litt.* t. i, pt. ii, p. 47.

[41] Nos (Urbanus V, A.D. 1363) indulgemus ut tu (Johannes de Evesham, prior ecclesiæ Wigorniensis) et iidem successores tui . . . mitra, annulo, tunica, dalmatica, sandaliis et chirothecis episcopalibus, ac bordono argenteo botonum argenteum habente in capite absque alio ornatu, uti . . . libere valeatis. Volumus autem quod hujusmodi bordonus, quo tu et successores tui utemini, ad modum pastoralis baculi non sit factus.—*Privilegia Eccl. Wigorn.* Wilkins, *Concil.* t. iii, p. 201.

In Worcester cathedral may yet be seen, within a niche at the back of the modern altar-screen, a cumbent figure of one of its priors; at whose side there lies this bordon, or crookless staff, cut in stone, and shaped according to the injunctions of the above papal indult. The industrious Abingdon thus described it two hundred years ago: There ariseth a tomb . . . . wherein lyeth the portraiture of a bishop, or prior, vested for the altar, his head supported with angels, and covered with a mitre; at his feet a lyon, gloves on his hands, suitable to his function, the right

choir-staff as the one borne by an abbot whenever he walked in procession along with the monks of his house,[42] let not the reader think that by this was meant what is properly called

THE RULER OF THE CHOIR'S STAFF,

which quite differed from the true pastoral staff, both with regard to shape and emblematic signification. The "rectores chori", or rulers of the choir, who were few or many, according to the solemnity of the festival, but always arrayed in alb and cope,[43] and often having the precentor at their head,[44] directed the singing of the choir all through

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lifted up to give a benediction, in the left a staff, not with a cross, as a metropolis, nor yet a crosier, as a bishop, but curiously wrought, and such as I have seen the archichoristæ, or rulers of the choir, use in a most solemn and high mass.

[42] Electus autem (abbas) etsi fuerit unus de ultimis novitiis loco supremo illico statuetur . . . In processionibus supremus ex parte abbatis procedet, ut alius senior, non in medio choralem ferens baculum, ut antiquitus temere consuevit, ne forte in posterum cassatus retrocedat. (*Matt. Paris, in Vitis S. Albani Abbatum*, p. 92.) Very likely the pastoral staff used in the choir by the abbots of St. Alban's, though precisely the same in shape, was of much inferior materials to the one employed at mass: hence this plainer one was called the choir-staff.

[43] Besides their silken copes, the rulers of the choir wore the canons' grey furred amys. See note 85 before, p. 55.

[44] His staff at St. Paul's cathedral, London, judging

many parts of the Divine service—at matins—at Mass—at even-song. As they arose from their stools,[45] or went down from their stalls to cluster

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from the following description, must have been very fine: Baculus cantoris de peciis eburneis, et summitate cristallina, ornata circulis argenteis, deauratis, triphoriatus lapidibus insertis. (*Visit. in Thesaur. S. Pauli, Lond.* apud *Dugdale, Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 316.) At the Royal Chapel at Windsor, A.D. 1385, this dignitary's staff is thus noticed: Unus baculus pro precentore in choro, ligatus in quinque locis, cum puncto argenteo in fine, habens in summitate ejusdem unam partem eburneam ex transverso cum christallo in finibus. (*Idem, Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1365.) At Winchester cathedral there was: One rector's staff of unicorn's horn. (*Ibid.* t. i, p. 202.) The beautifully wrought staff-head, figured in Dibdin's *Tour through the Northern Counties of England*, was, I suspect, one of those carried in his hand by the ruler of the choir.

The royal abbey of St. Denys, near Paris, had in its treasury a very fine chanter's staff, given by one of its precentors, A.D. 1394, and figured, plate 1, in Félibien's *Hist. de l'Abbaye de Saint Denys.*

[45] Very likely the "scampna ferrea plicancia et argentata," brought from the Countess Goda's chapel in her manor-house at Lambeth, by Ralph the monk, to Rochester cathedral (*Regist. Roff.* p. 119), as well as the "v cathedræ ferr. pro choro cum lectrino ferr.," mentioned in the indenture of things belonging to Cobham College, Kent, A.D. 1479, and printed by Thorpe (*Ibid.* p. 239), were as many iron stools for the rulers of the choir, and set near the iron lettern, on the floor of the chancel. In such a place are they seated at present in the churches abroad, either on

around the large brazen eagle, upon the outstretched wings of which lay open the heavy Grail, or widely-spreading Antiphoner—from the noted and illuminated leaves of which they were chanting;—or as they walked to and fro, giving out to each high-canon in his turn the anthem to be sung, these rulers of the choir bore in their hand a staff, sometimes beautifully adorned and made of silver, ending, not with a crook, but a short cross-beam, which carried some enrichment, elaborately wrought and richly decorated.[46] Of such a litur-

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high wooden chairs, or upon benches. Sometimes, too, they all sat in a row upon one form, put quite by itself, in the middle of the choir. For throwing upon, and covering such benches, a carpet of the finest kind was often employed. Geoffrey de Loduno, Bishop of Le Mans, in France, gave to that church: Duos tapedas subtus pedes servientium ad altare, et duos minores mirabili opere quorum unus operit sedem regentium chorum.—*Gesta Gaufridi de Loduno*, A.D. 1255, ed. Mabillon, *Analect.* p. 335.

Our chanters' stools were not without their ornaments, as we find from the inventory of St. Paul's, London, where the plainer stools served, most likely, for the under-rulers of the choir. Quatuor cathedræ ligneæ debiles. Item tres cathedræ ferreæ debiles. Una cathedra ferrea cum capitibus et pomellis deauratis quæ est cantoris.—*Visit. in Thes. S. Pauli, Londini*, A.D. 1295, *Dugdale's St. Paul's*, p. 315.

[46] The enameling, the imagery, the lace-like tabernacle-work, bestowed especially upon the head of the English staff, for the rector of the choir, may be almost seen from

gical practice we have evidence for Anglo-Saxon[47] as well as English times ;[48] and on this, like almost every other ritual observance, St. Osmund merely

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the description of the "Baculi pro chori regentibus," set down in the list of plunder carried off by Henry VIII from Lincoln cathedral: Imprimis, a staff covered with silver and gilt, with one image of our Lady graven in silver at one end, and an image of St. Hugh in the other end; and having a boss, six squared, with twelve images inammelled, having six buttresses, wanting one pinnacle and two tops. Item, two other staves, covered with silver and gilt, having an image of our Lady, and a chanon kneeling before her at every end, with this scripture, *Pro nobis ora*, etc.; having also one knop, with six buttresses, and six windows in the midst, one of them wanting a pinnacle, with this scripture about the staff, *Benedictus Deus in donis suis*. Item, two other staves, covered with silver parcel gilt, having a knop in the midst, having six buttresses, and six windows in every staff, gilt, wanting one round silver plate of one crouches end. (*Dugdale, Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1281.) From these, and other descriptions, it would appear that the head of the staff was made like St. Anthony's cross, or the capital letter T. Upon the top of this were set the images.

[47] Bishop Leofric left to his cathedral at Exeter: iii. cantercæppa and .iii. canterstafas, etc.—*Codex Dipl. Anglo-Saxonum*, ed. Kemble, t. iv, p. 275.

[48] At Salisbury, A.D. 1222, there were, in the treasury: Baculi viij ad chorum regendum. (Part iii, p. 106, of this work.) These staves at Canterbury cathedral were as rich as they were curious, in the year 1315, and are thus enumerated:

retained for his rite of Sarum a usage which he found established in the rubric of this country before the coming of the Normans; in fact, the Anglo-Saxon, the English, and, until a late period, even if they do not still, several churches on the continent put staves into the hands of the choir-rulers,[49] as is still practised in Belgium.[50]

Baculi Cantorum.

Baculus Sancti Thomæ argenteus et deauratus et gemmis ornatus.

Baculus Sancti Dunstani minor argenteus cum gemmis, et capite eburneo.

Baculus ejusdem major in parte argenteus et gemmis ornatus, cum dente Sancti Andreæ.

IV. baculi de cornu, cum capitibus eburneis.

V. baculi argentei, cum capitibus eburneis.—*Dart's Canterbury*, Append. p. xv.

The royal chapel at Windsor had, A.D. 1385: Duo baculi de una secta pro rectoribus chori in principalibus. Duo baculi pro rectoribus secundariis, etc. Duo baculi harnizati cum berillo.—*Dugdale*, *Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1366.

[49] Martene tells us that, being at Toulouse during the feast of the Assumption, he saw the processions: Les chanoines de la cathédrale vinrent aussi en procession . . . Ils avoient six chantres revêtus de tuniques portant sur leurs épaules des bâtons d'argent, qu'ils appellent des bourdons. (*Voyage Litt. des deux Bénédict.* t. i, partie ii, p. 49.) De Moléon, in the year 1757, found, at the church of S. Maurice de Vienne: Les chantres chappez ayant leurs mitres en tête et leurs bâtons en main (*Voyages Liturg.* p. 29); and speaking of Rouen cathedral in his times,

Of all the prelates of the Church,

THE ROMAN PONTIFF

is the only one now who

DOES NOT ON ANY OCCASION MAKE USE OF THE PASTORAL STAFF,[51]

nor has he for the last six hundred years at least; although before the beginning of the twelfth century, there can be no doubt the successor of St.

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he tells us that: A la grand messe, les fêtes triples, le chantre en chappe avec son bâton gouverne le chœur (de la cathédrale de Rouen). Il annonce au célébrant le *Gloria in excelsis*, et le *Credo*. Pendant le *Gloria in excelsis*, il avertit deux chaplains pour chanter le Graduel ou jubé, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 360.) At Rome, in Sicily, and at Malta, these staves were at one time in use, as Magri tells us, *Hierolexicon*, in verbo *Baculus*.

[50] During the high mass which I heard, on a Sunday not long ago, at Bruges cathedral, there were two rulers of the choir, vested in albs and copes, and seated on high oaken chairs placed in the middle of the choir, with the eagle of latton before them. They bore staves in their hands whenever they moved about the choir; and behind their stools, two little acolytes were standing, who arranged the fall of these chanters' copes, as they came back and sat down again.

[51] What Pope Innocent was the first to observe, in the twelfth century, is equally true now: Romanus autem pontifex pastorali virga non utitur.—*De Sacro Altaris Myst.* lib. i, cap. lxj, fol. 22.

Peter employed, like every other bishop, a pastoral staff at those parts of the liturgy where it is still employed. This we know from those pictorial[52] as well as written testimonies[53] we possess upon the

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[52] The brothers Magri, in the new edition of their *Hierolexicon*, have given engravings of two old works of art, figuring one St. Gregory the Great; the other, Pope Gelasius II, who sat in St. Peter's chair A.D. 1118,—just eighty years before Innocent III's time. St. Gregory holds in one hand a long staff, headed with a little cross; and Gelasius's is an equally tall wand, bearing at the top a small egg-like knob. The first may be seen at the word *Baculus*, the second under *Mitra*, in the Latin edition of the above-named excellent book, printed at Venice, A.D. 1735.

[53] Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, while writing on the events of which he had been an eye-witness, in his description of Pope Benedict's deposition, A.D. 964, tells us: Post hæc pallium sibi abstulit (Benedictus) quod simul cum pontificali ferula, quam manu gestabat, domino papæ tradidit, quam ferulam idem papa fregit, et fractum ostendit populo.—Lib. vi *De rebus ab Europæ Imperat. et Reg. gestis.*

That the Roman pontiffs used the pastoral staff as late as the end of the eleventh century, is clear from the discourse of Pope Urban II, A.D. 1092, to the monks of La Cava, near Salerno, when he went, and with much solemnity consecrated their church; for among other things, the pontiff tells them: Nam quo ego utor aureo baculo, ut magnæ sit dignitatis, est tamen integumentum molestissimarum curarum, fastidiocissimi stomachi.—*Cavensis Cœnobii Dedicatio, ex MS. Chron. Caven. in AA. SS. Martii*, t. i, p. 336, n. 8.

subject, though both of them let us see that the shape of the papal differed from that of the episcopal staff; the pontiff's seems never to have had the crook upon it, but was topped either by a small cross or a ball.

In connexion with the pastoral staff, there are two or three questions about which the reader may perhaps like to hear a few words. By some (who do not, however, let us learn upon what authority) are we told: "It is well known, that one distinguishing mark between the mode of carrying this staff by a bishop or by an abbot was, that the first turned the crook outwards, to denote his jurisdiction over a diocess, the other, inwards, towards himself, to denote that his jurisdiction reached over the members only of his own house."[54] True is it, that belonging to the medieval period of our ecclesiastical history, there still exist many monuments, such as sculptures upon tombs and over graves in our fine old cathedrals and minsters, episcopal and monastic seals strung to deeds and grants, and illuminated manuscripts, wherein we behold an abbot or an abbess figured, carrying the pastoral staff of office in such a way that its crook is turned inwards. But true is it also, that from amid these very same evidences of gone-by days may be gathered examples, and not a few, in which

[54] *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, by the Rev. W. Maskell, M.A. t. iii, p. cxxxvii.

we see those same monastic dignitaries represented as holding this staff with its crook away from themselves and pointed forwards.[55] This, however, is not all, for instances abound of bishops who have the crook of the staff put inwards,[56] that is, in the

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[55] In the beautiful Louterell Psalter there is figured an abbess with her pastoral staff, the crook of which is turned outwards. Richard Bewfforest, prior of Dorchester church, Oxon, in the sixteenth century, and Elizabeth Harvey, abbess of Elstow, Bedfordshire, about the same period, have each a pastoral staff, the crook of which in both instances is outwards, as may be seen from Waller's *Brasses*. Upon his grave-brass in Westminster Abbey, its abbot, John Esteney, is drawn arrayed in his pontifical vestments, giving his blessing with his right hand and holding in his left a pastoral staff, with the crook turned out. Abbot Thomas de la Mere is represented on his magnificent brass in St. Alban's abbey-church, lying with his staff, the crook of which is outwards, under his left arm; and an old cumbent figure of an abbot, now placed in the south aisle of the choir at Peterborough, has a staff in the same position. The same thing may be observed in many of our abbatial seals, such as that for Croyland (*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. ii, pl. x, new ed.); for Pollesworth Nunnery (*ib.* pl. xiii); and for Thorney (*ib.* pl. xvi).

[56] To show this, a great many examples from among the ecclesiastical monuments of the medieval period, still left all about this country, might be cited. In the woodcut we gave not long ago, p. 100, of an English illumination, St. Cuthberht is figured bestowing the episcopal blessing as usual with his right hand, and holding with the left the pastoral staff, the crook of which, however, is

very way asserted to be one among the well-known distinctive marks that he who so carries it, must be an abbot. The argument then resting for its ground upon monumental examples and without leaning upon any other prop, although deemed strong enough to uphold such an opinion about the difference between the way in which a bishop's and an abbot's crook used to be turned, will very soon break down. If, too, we look elsewhere, and seek within the rubrics and the texts of the liturgy

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turned, not away, but toward himself. Just so is placed Bishop Giffard's, as we may find by looking at tom. i, p. 371, of this work. On the seal of St. Nicholas's Priory, Exeter, that celebrated archbishop of Myra wears his pall and holds his pastoral staff in his left hand, with the crook turned inwards. At Lichfield cathedral there is a statue of a bishop whose pastoral staff is in the same position; and near to where once stood the altar of "our Ladie of pitie", in what is yet called the Gallilee, or west end of Durham cathedral, may be seen the painting of a bishop, the crook of whose staff is inwards. Indeed, in the very beautiful series of episcopal seals belonging to that great northern see, there are more perhaps which show us the crook turned inwards than outwards, as may be seen by those figured in the Surtees Society's *Priory of Finchale*, pp. xxv, 2, 20, 168, 173, 180.

In the very old Sacramentary of Gellone, St. Matthew is figured holding in his right hand a pastoral staff, the crook of which is turned towards that apostle's head, as may be seen in Silvestre's fine work, *Paléographie Universelle*, partie iii.

itself, or among those writers who have so beautifully set forth to view the mystic signification of the Church's ceremonies, we shall be equally unsuccessful in our search: in fact, there is nothing in the ancient ritual, nothing in the works of those who have written on its symbolism and unfolded to us its hidden meanings, to warrant the above assumption, or which helps us to believe there ever was this well-known acknowledged distinction, and that such may be trusted as a safe and unerring rule upon these matters.[57]

Again, in the works of some few modern writers on the liturgy, it has been laid down as a rule, that the abbot's staff, by way of discerning it from a bishop's, must always have hanging, just under the crook, a long linen napkin.[58] The only formal sanction given for such an ordinance came from St.

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[57] Had such a distinction been at all known when Honorius of Autun lived, that copious writer on ecclesiastical symbolism would never have overlooked it, more especially while speaking of the abbot's staff, and noticing its very crook thus: Abbati conceditur pastoralis virga, quia ei traditur Dominici gregis custodia. . . . Hujus baculi flexura non ex albo, sed ex nigro debet esse, quia in commissa cura non debet mundi gloriam quærere. Summitas curvaturæ debet esse sphærica, quia cuncta ejus disciplina debet esse deifica.—*Gemma Animæ*, lib. i, cap. 238, p. 1239.

[58] Gavantus, *Thesaur. Sac. Rit.* t. i, pars i, tit. xix, p. 122, ed. Merati, Augustæ Vindel. 1763, et *ibid.* pars ii, tit. i, p. 150.

Charles Borromeo,[59] for the usual rubrical authorities, even as yet, say nothing concerning this observance.[60] But whatever may have, before the sainted archbishop of Milan's days, been the practice of Italy upon this point, here in England such a rite was at no time followed under this meaning; nor did our old churchmen ever recognize in the towel fastened to the pastoral staff, any mark announcing that he who carried it so muffled, was an abbot—not a bishop. The truth is, of the many effigies whereon we find this napkin, in general hanging down, though sometimes rolled about the staff, by far the greater number show us the person, not of an abbot, but a bishop;[61] and there can

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[59] Baculus pastoralis . . . orario aut sudario non ornatur si episcopalis est quo insigni abbatialis ab illo distinguitur. —*Acta Eccl. Mediolan. De Baculo Pastorali, Instruct. Supell. Eccl.* lib. ii, p. 627.

[60] Neither the Roman Pontifical, nor the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, nor any decree from the Congregation of Rites, says a word upon the subject.

[61] There are many monuments in England to show that the pastoral staff, whether in the hand of a bishop, or an abbot, had hanging to it a long piece of linen, or of silk. This appendage is discernible, among others, upon the grave-brass, in Westminster abbey, of John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, A.D. 1395; upon that, in the same church, of its abbot, John Estney, A.D. 1498; upon Bishop Branscomb's effigy, in Exeter cathedral; as well as on another, in the same church, of Bishop Oldham, with this difference, that, instead of drooping straight down, it is

exist no doubt, such a linen or silken appendage used to be employed by both those dignitaries indiscriminately. If we may venture an opinion, this napkin was never meant as a token of difference at all, but became adopted early in the fourteenth century rather for the sake of cleanliness, than as a badge of a fettered and narrower jurisdiction, and not only to hinder the brightness and the gilding of the burnished staff from being tarnished by the hand's clamminess, but to keep the hand itself from being tainted with a no very grateful smell, which its heat would always take up from clenching, though for a short length of time, anything of copper, however strongly coated it might be with gold; and the tubes of those staves, from being of wood, came, about the above-named period, to be usually made, if not of gold or silver, at least of metal gilt.

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rolled two or three times round his staff. It is shown also upon William of Wykeham's cumbent figure, at Winchester cathedral; upon Bishop Mitford's in Salisbury; and upon Archbishop Walter de Gray's, in York minster; also upon that truly beautiful monument, said to be of John de Sheppy, in Rochester cathedral.

The *Nuremberge Chronicle* has, scattered up and down through its highly-curious pages, many a wood-cut of a bishop; and in almost every one we find, hanging to the pastoral staff, the same long kind of napkin; but instead of being wrapped and knotted at top about it, a string fastens it there, and it is capped by a sort of funnel-shaped ornament, which is never seen in our English monuments.

The thorough good taste shown by our forefathers in colouring all their sculptures, has, besides lending so much beauty to those works[62] of art,

[62] Those among us of the Puritan school in decoration (the lovers of whitewash, who scruple at anything beyond yellow-ochre in a place of worship) are, happily for the beauty of God's house, and the resurrection of the fine arts in this country, becoming fewer every day; and we have good hopes that, ere long, colour will be again as much employed for heightening the effect of architectural ornaments (the sculptures especially) in our churches, as it used to be throughout this land in by-gone days. Let not people, however, be led astray by thinking that the wretched manner in which some figures and carvings have been lately daubed, is a revival of the true old style. Nothing can be further from the truth; and, after a short search, we shall find that, to paint sculpture, whether in wood or stone, must have been an art by itself,—so nicely, so neatly, so becomingly, was it done, without flaunting or garish dazzle. Carter (no weak authority upon such matters) speaks thus about the cumbent figure of Bishop Walter Branscomb, in Exeter cathedral: "From these and other, the like objects, in various parts of the kingdom, are adduced the strongest proofs of the taste of the painting, gilding, etc. . . . Hence it may be accounted why the present statue is so minutely coloured in the above mode,—the execution of which (painting) is most wonderfully elaborate. I speak without fear of contradiction, but by those who have never studied, or drawn from this, or other like remains. Having most scrupulously copied this example, to the fullest scale, in many large drawings, I may thus presume on the certainty of what I now advance in

made them the truthful keepers, as it were, of some valuable liturgic knowledge, which at this far-off time we could pick up nowhere else. But from several of our cumbent episcopal effigies, though their bright gilding be now almost quenched—though their once warm tints be dimmed and sadly faded, still enough of both is left for the sharpened eye of the keen archæologist to find out, among other things, that this napkin was always white, and frequently had one or two tassels hanging to, or a fringe of gold running round the lower edge;[63] whether wrought of silk or of linen cannot at present be seen, although most likely the former,

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its praise; indeed, too much cannot be said to cause general observation and general regard," etc. (*Specimens of English Ecclesiastical Costume*, etc. by John Carter, p. 18). I have in my possession a small "Calvary," or representation of Christ going to be crucified, the crucifixion itself, and the taking down from the cross,—made as a rere-doss for an altar, in a little domestic oratory. It is carved in wood, and every one of its fifty tiny statuets is so well and so delicately painted and finished, that the golden embroidery upon some of the garments—nay, the very woof itself—is admirably done. The painting and embossed gilding of the rere-doss in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester cathedral, are, by themselves, worth a journey to that beautiful piece of architecture.

[63] Such was the colour and ornament of the napkin hanging down from Bishop Branscomb's pastoral staff, in his effigy, still in Exeter cathedral.—*Carter's Specimens*, etc. p. 18.

if not invariably, may have often been the material with which this towel used to be made.

When borne to church for his burial, the dead abbot, stretched out on an open bier, and arrayed in full sacrificial vestments, and, if belonging to any one of our greater monasteries, with a mitre on his head and sandals on his feet, had his gloved hands placed crosswise, or sometimes clasped as in prayer, upon his breast, and his pastoral staff was placed at his right beneath his arm.[64] Such a rule, however, was not so strictly followed but what, to judge from sepulchral monuments, this abbatial staff often rested, like a bishop's, on the abbot's left side.[65] Examples, too, are not wanting in which we may see that even the archbishop's cross was not always laid on his left, but sometimes on his right.[66] Again, we often find the pastoral staff so

[64] Portabatur igitur corpus a camera quæ dicitur abbatis ubi expiraverat (Willielmus abbas S. Albani monasterii) in infirmariam et ibidem pontificalibus est indutum, mitra capiti apposita, manibus chirothecæ cum annulo et dextro sub brachio baculus consuetus, manibus cancellatis, sandalia in pedibus decenter aptata. Et deposito cooperculo a feretro positum est corpus super illud, et fasciis caute ligatum ne caderet cum portaretur evolutum.... Pulsato igitur solemni classico deportatum est corpus in ecclesiam, etc.—*Matt. Paris, De Vitis S. Albani Abb.* p. 87.

[65] In St. Alban's abbey church, the fine grave-brass of Thomas de la Mere, abbot of that house A.D. 1396, shows the staff lying on his left side.

[66] Archbishop Chicheley has his cross on his left, Arch-

represented on effigies, as not to lie straight down along-side, but diagonally from the feet to the shoulder, athwart the person of the departed prelate; and although we have not as yet found out why, we may be sure that to such a funeral rite there belonged in those days a well-understood symbolic meaning.

It has been assumed that among the well-known distinguishing marks between the mode of carrying this staff by a bishop and by an abbot, one was, "the first carried his staff in his left hand, the latter in his right".[67] True is it, bishops did, and still do, bear the pastoral staff in the left hand; but that abbots carried theirs always, by way of difference, in the right, is incorrect: John Esteney, abbot of Westminster, is figured on his grave-brass in that church, as holding his staff in his left hand and giving his blessing, like a bishop, with his right. The old English, just as the present Roman rubric, directed the bishop to take hold of his staff with the left hand; and the reason is obvious: it was that he might keep his right hand free to bestow, while uplifting it, his blessing upon the people, either formally, as at high Mass and other public administrations of the Church, or as he

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bishop Warham on his right side, as may be seen in their effigies at Canterbury cathedral.

[67] *Monumenta Rit. Eccl. Anglic.* by the Rev. W. Maskell, t. iii, p. cxxxvii.

walked to and from the altar in processions. But as our mitred abbots had the privilege of giving, at the high Mass they sung in pontificals, the solemn blessing, which could be imparted by the raised right hand only, they were forced to hold the staff in their left, while going through this ceremony of the ritual.

Our next step leads us to a question of some interest, both for the liturgical student and the medieval antiquary, on the so-called

PAPAL CROSS WITH THREE TRANSOMS, AND THE PATRIARCHAL CROSS WITH TWO SUCH BARS,

each shorter than the one beneath it, and running athwart the top of an otherwise tall, plain staff.

Nothing is there in the *Ordines Romani*, nor in any pontifical ritual, old or new—nothing in ancient nor actual practice to afford the narrowest grounds whereon to rest the slightest opinion, that such a form of a cross has at any time or anywhere been borne about him by the Roman pontiff. From the period when it became usual to carry before this vicar of Christ upon earth the symbol of man's redemption—a cross—it was always fashioned like the one now employed for such a purpose, being a plain common cross, having very often fastened to it by nails an image of our Divine Redeemer, in other words, a crucifix, let into a small ball on the top of a staff, both of which were of silver, or of gold.

Respecting the two-barred, or so-called

PATRIARCHAL CROSS,

the question cannot be cleared up either so soon or with the same readiness. Though from such liturgical documents as have reached us, we do not learn it was anywhere the strict ritual usage for patriarchs to have carried before them a cross with two bars, but on the contrary, theirs, like the supreme pontiff's, always has been what it now is —the common simple one; nevertheless there are grounds for believing such a sort of cross has been in some few instances employed, even in this country, during a brief period of the medieval epoch. The celebrated bishop of Durham, Anthony Beck, had bestowed upon him by the Holy See, the honorary title of the Jerusalem patriarchate, and in consequence of this must he have possessed, among the rest of his episcopal array, a certain silver-gilt patriarchal cross,[68] especially mentioned

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[68] The famous Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, was one of the very few English prelates who have had bestowed upon them the nominal dignity of patriarch: Clemens V, primo anno (1305) papatus sui creavit Antonium Dunelmensem episcopum in Patriarcham Jerosolomitanum. (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. 83.) In consequence of such a title, Beck had, among his episcopal ornaments, a patriarchal cross, made of gilt silver, which we find set down along with the other splendid things which went from his chapel to Durham cathedral at his death: Ex capella ejus-

as a part of his mortuary gift to his cathedral; but whether it was short and stemless and so made as to hang against the wall; or with a foot, that it might stand somewhere about the altar in his domestic chapel for a badge of Beck's titular dignity; or whether it was mounted on a staff and borne before this bishop of Durham, we have not now any means of positively deciding. In all probability, however, it was fashioned like, and answered the purpose of this latter kind of cross; for it is a curious fact, that among those exquisite illuminations in the truly magnificent manuscript —Queen Mary's Psalter[69]—a work painted during the latter years of the thirteenth, if not at the beginning of the fourteenth century, therefore done about the very time of Beck's episcopate, and, as it would seem too, by an English hand, there is one (of which, when we come to speak a little later of the bishop's faldstool, we shall give a wood-cut) that shows a patriarchal cross upon a staff, held by a seated archbishop. Furthermore, upon some of our monastic seals, St. Peter, arrayed in pontificals, and wearing on his head the old one-crowned papal tiara, supports in his left hand what looks very like a double-barred or patriarchal

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dem (Antonii episcopi) unam crucem patriarchalem argenteam et deauratam.—*Wills and Inventories of the Northern Counties of England*, p. 12.

[69] In the British Museum, *MS. Roy. Lib.* 2, B. VII.

cross,[70] though perhaps the lower bar may have been originally meant as the two branches of a floriation, from out of which the usual papal cross was made to seem springing.

If we look around us, we shall soon behold other, though foreign instances, wherein these double-transomed crosses may be found, and they are the coins struck by the emperors of Constantinople, as well as several monuments of Byzantine ecclesiastical art.[71] But, it may perhaps be asked, how

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[70] St. Peter is thus figured on the seal of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, etched in the new edition of *Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. i, plate 4 of seals; on the Gloucester abbey seal (*Ibid.* pl. 6); and on that of Muchelney abbey (*Ibid.* t. ii, pl. 13). Upon our super-altar the lamb holds a staff, with a flag and a double-transomed cross at top, as the reader may see in the wood-cut, p. 257, vol. i, of this work.

[71] Golden coins from the mint both of the elder and of the younger Theodosius, as well as of Arcadius, of Honorius, and of other Greek emperors, show, on the reverse, a cross of two bars. Cardinal Borgia possessed a Greek-made cross, in iron, coated with copper, so shaped; and has given a rough engraving of it at the end of his admirable work, *De Cruce Vaticana.* From another equally learned book of his, *De Cruce Veliterna,* p. 203, we learn that, at the monastery of the Holy Cross, near Avellana, he found a reliquary fashioned after the same form. In one of the illuminations in a Greek manuscript belonging to the Vatican library, and figured by D'Agincourt (pl. 57, *Peinture*), our Divine Redeemer, uprising from the grave, holds

could such things bias our customs in the far west limits of Christendom? We answer: very easily. Let it be kept in mind, that first, the crusades, then pilgrimages to the Holy Land, took many of our people—our churchmen especially, in these latter expeditions—through the chief cities and the capital of the Greek empire, and over Asia Minor, as they wended their way to and from the birth-place and sepulchre of our Lord. Meeting with this form of cross not unfrequently during their eastern travels, nay, at Jerusalem itself, not only often, but always, they may have thought it, with other western Christians, so characteristic of the Holy Land, so very much so of the Holy City, that its Latin patriarch and its Latin king must each of them needs assume it as their respective distinguishing badge. From being thus adopted as his episcopal and ceremonial cross by one among the several patriarchs in the Church, it became, to the painter's eye, a recognized symbol for pointing out every other ecclesiastical personage honoured with

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a two-barred cross in his left hand; but the crucifixion just over this plate, shows that the upper beam was to express the board with writing on it; so, too, does the crucifixion, painted after the Greek style, in fresco, in the now-burned down church of St. Paul's-beyond-the-walls, at Rome, and engraved likewise by D'Agincourt (pl. 96). Giunta di Pisa, following the tradition left by the Greek teachers of painting in Italy, often fashioned his crosses just in the same way.—*Ibid.* pl. 102.

the patriarchal title. But as the two-barred cross imagined for all primates, told to the world that they stood higher in the hierarchy than any archbishop, whose cross had but one single bar, so the cross with three was then thought of for the pope, to announce the headship and supremacy of the Roman pontiff over every other primate.

That the Latins, however, quite misunderstood the shape of the cross as they saw it fashioned in Palestine, is beyond a doubt; for while looking at the above-mentioned Greek monuments and ornaments of the Eastern Church, we are very soon led to believe that the uppermost of the two bars upon what is sometimes called the patriarchal, at others, the Jerusalem or Lorraine[72] cross, is nothing else than a representation of the piece of board with the writing on it, set by Pilate's order above the head of our Saviour on the cross. In fact, then, the cross with three bars attributed to the pope, is nothing more than the arbitrary and unauthorized invention of painters—a mere emblem thought of,

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[72] Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, being chosen by the Crusaders the first Latin king of Jerusalem, adopted the use of this double-barred, or, by some called, Jerusalem cross. In memory of one of their princes, whose holiness as a Christian, and bravery as a soldier, shed such glory on their country, the Lorrainers became very fond of it; and its frequent appearance in that province made it be known to very many under the name of the cross of Lorraine.

and not very long ago, by artists to symbolize the first bishop—the head of the Church—the Roman pontiff. The patriarchal cross, in a very few places, and for a very short period, formerly was, but now never is used, and has become the sign in works of art of patriarchal dignity.

With respect to

THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL CROSS,

we have strong evidence to show that a cross used to be carried before the archbishops of this island during the British period of its Church history: the one employed for such a purpose by St. Samson, archbishop of York, while the Britons held this land, is spoken of in the very valuable life of that saint;[73] and most probably the staff accustomed to be borne before St. Cæsarius, archbishop of Arles, the contemporary of our British countryman, had, like his, a cross upon the top of it.[74] Throughout the Anglo-Saxon epoch, we have nothing positive on this subject, although we find that a procession was then often headed by a clerk carrying aloft a

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[73] Post ejus obitum aliquod intervallum, imago crucis quæ ante eum ferri semper solebat, quamque benedixerat, quæ denique auri atque argenti, gemmarumque venustatibus circum fuerat solidata, a quodam malefico ac pessimo homine furtim detecta, ac dehonestata est.—*Vita S. Samsonis Ep. Dolen. ab anonymo subæquali*, ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* t. i, p. 171.

[74] See note 19, p. 183.

golden or a silver crucifix: in such a manner was it that St. Austin went before King Ethelberht;[75] thus, too, did abbot Ceolfrid leave his monastery at Wearmouth, when he started on his pilgrimage to Rome.[76]

By the end, however, of the eleventh century did the custom formally begin, both here and on the continent, for all archbishops to have carried before them by one of their chaplains, a staff, ending, not like a bishop's, with a bend in imitation of the shepherd's crook, but topped by a somewhat small cross, often richly ornamented with precious stones. Such a liturgical practice was at first solemnly observed by the Roman pontiffs, who at length granted, among other privileges, this same rite in favour of their legates. Afterwards, primates, then archbishops, in some quarters of Christendom, were allowed its authoritative use, as a personal distinction awarded them from the Holy See. But since each corner of God's one Church is, or ought to be, equally dear as another

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[75] Veniebant crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam.— *Beda, Hist. Ecc. Angl.* lib. i, cap. xxv, n. 55.

[76] Conveniunt omnes in ecclesiam beati Petri . . . Hinc fletibus universorum inter letanias resonantibus exeunt... Veniunt ad litus ... Ascendunt et diacones ecclesiæ cereas ardentes et crucem ferentes auream, transit flumen (Ceolfridus), adorat crucem, ascendit equum, et obiit.— *Vita S Ceolfridi, auct. Ven. Beda*, ed. Stevenson, *Op. Hist. Min* pp. 157, 158.

to its visible head upon earth, our common father the pope, and since personal favours are often invidious, still oftener unjust, they were in this instance wisely dropped, and by the beginning of the twelfth century, to have a cross borne before him became, not a partial, but a general rubric, for every archbishop; and the ecclesiastical records of no country furnish for those times more curious or more interesting illustrations of it than our own. Until he had gotten his pall from the Roman pontiff, no archbishop might let the cross be carried before him; hence it was, that St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, admonished Samuel, bishop of Dublin, to leave off doing so.[77]

The way in which our archbishops of Canterbury solemnly received their cross was very impressive. As the primate of all England rode for his enthonization towards the metropolitan see, he was met at a short distance from that city by a crowded procession, amid which came one of the monks from Christ-church, bearing the archiepiscopal cross; and no sooner did the prelate catch a first

[77] "Audivi," says the saint, "quia facis portari crucem ante te in via. Quod si verum est, mando tibi ne amplius hoc facias, quia non pertinet nisi ad archiepiscopum a Romano Pontifice pallio confirmatum, neque decet te, ut ulla præsumptione insolitæ rei te notabilem et reprehensibilem hominibus ostendas (*S. Anselmi Epist.* lib. iii, Ep. lxxii, Op. p. 393). He refers to the same thing again.—*Ibid.* p. 434, Ep. xxvii.

view of this symbol of our belief, than he got down from his horse, and throwing himself flat upon the earth, with outstretched arms awaited its approach, showing, by this lowly posture, his inward love and homage for his Redeemer. Then did he who carried the holy emblem of God made man, standing over the archbishop, warn him of his future duty to love, defend, and govern well that Church which had been intrusted to his pastoral charge. These few words said, he put the cross into the hands of the kneeling archbishop, who immediately gave it unto that one of his chaplains whom he had chosen for his cross-bearer or "croyser", and then arising from the ground, followed the procession, which brought him with a joyful singing of psalms to the walls of Canterbury. But no sooner did he reach its gates, than the archbishop put off his shoes and walked the rest of the way barefoot, even up to the high altar of that magnificent cathedral, where, robed in his chasuble and wearing his pall for the first time, he offered up the eucharistic sacrifice, and was led in due form and seated in the primate's chair.[78]

[78] Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, who bore forth, and gave the cross to Archbishop Hubert, A.D. 1193, has purposely written an account of the ceremony, that we might know how it was done: G(ervasius) ab electo (Huberto) recedens, et in crastino rediens, crucem portans, obviavit electo a Londonia venienti, crucemque tradidit cum devotione apud Levesham iij. non. Novembris. Et ut sciant posteri quomodo fieri debeat, modus susceptionis hic erat.

The first, the last, indeed the only time our metropolitan ever touched, according to the ritual, his archiepiscopal cross, was the day and on the occasion when he took it from the hands of the monk who brought it to him on the road as he went to make his first primatial visit to Canterbury: ever afterwards, not the archbishop, but a chaplain of his, called of yore the "croyser",[79]

Cum igitur Cantuariam tendens prædictum G(ervasium) qui hæc scripsit, crucem bajulantem appropiare videret, equo descendit in terram corruens extensis brachiis crucem adoravit, astante præfato G(ervasio) cum episcopo Rofensi et innumera multitudine. Surgenti autem et in genibus statim erecto, dixit Gervasius: "Nuntius sum, venerande pater, nuncium ferens optimum, non hominis sed Dei, immo illius qui Deus est et homo Jesus Christus . . . qui salutat te salute æterna, rogat, mandat, et præcipit, ut ecclesiam suam regendam suscipias, eamque diligas et protegas in fide non ficta. In hujus signum nuncii summi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum. Accipe libenter, porta fideliter, ut cum sanctis prædecessoribus tuis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ patronis in æternum gaudeas. Amen."

Cruce itaque suscepta, et clerico ferenda tradita.... Deinde alba indutus et cappa sequente conventu nudus pedes incedens, pallium suscepit per manum nuntii Celestini Papæ. Quo redimitus pallio cum cæteris episcopalibus indumentis intronizatus est et missam celebravit.—*Chronica Gervasii*, ed. Twysden, t. ii, p. 1585.

[79] In the *Golden Legende*, the account of St. Thomas of Canterbury's martyrdom says: And one Syr Edwarde gryme that was his croyser, put forthe his arme with the

carried it aloft before that prelate in all processions, and kneeling at his feet, held it up before him while at pontifical high Mass and other solemn occasions he had by the rubrics to give his pastoral blessing. So much indeed was it thought beside the usage of the ritual, for an archbishop to carry this cross with his own hands, that when St. Thomas à Becket deemed it, under a most remarkable circumstance, fitting to do so,[80] one of his suffragans present, the bishop of Hereford, immediately ran up and offered to act as that brave martyr's chaplain, and bear the archiepiscopal cross before him.[81]

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crosse to bere of the stroke, & the stroke smote the crosse on sondre, and his arme almoost of.—Ed. *Wynkyn de Worde*, fol. lxvi.

[80] Obiter præcedenti eum ait (Sanctus Thomas) Alexandro crucis suæ bajulo: melius egissem, si in nostris instrumentis venissem. Proposuerat enim quod nudis pedibus incedens, et revestitus, et crucem bajulans, ad regem intraret, ei pro pace ecclesiæ supplicaturus . . . cum equo descendisset, crucem quam primam bajulaverat Alexander Walensis, in manibus accepit.—*Vita S. Thomæ Cant. a W. Stephanide*, ed. Sparke, p. 40.

[81] Intraturus (S. Thomas Cantuar.) cameram regis . . . ad ostium ipsum a crucis bajulo crucem accepit, et palam cunctis videntibus ipse eam bajulavit . . . Occurrens Robertus Herefordensis inquit: Pater, sustine, et ego vice capellani crucem deferam ante præsentiam vestram. Sic enim condecet. (*Alanus, abbas de Tewksbury, in Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar.* ed. Lupo, p. 53.) John de Stratford, another archbishop of Canterbury, following St. Thomas's

Wherever they went, throughout the kingdom, the archbishops of Canterbury, being the primates, had their cross carried before them;[82] but as the archbishops of York laid claim to a like privilege, there arose between the two sees a litigation, which after a time was settled in this manner: when the two archbishops happened to walk in the same

example, went to Westminster hall, carrying his cross with his own hands, and demanded to be let into Parliament, the doors of which the king had ordered to be kept shut against him, A.D. 1341; and on this occasion the Bishop of Ely took and bore the archiepiscopal cross: Archiepiscopus crucem suam bajulans, se a dicto loco nullatenus recessurum asseruit. . . . Ego tanquam obediens domino meo regi humiliter venio; et crucem meam hîc in manibus meis gesto . . . idem archiepiscopus postmodum cum episcopis et cum domino Simone Eliensi episcopo crucem dicti archiepiscopi de manu sua capiente, parvam aulam Westmonasteriensem est ingressus, etc.—*Stephanus Birchington, in Vitis Archiep. Cantuar.* ed. Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* t. i, pp. 39, 40.

[82] Returning from his seven years' exile, St. Thomas of Canterbury had his cross, that was always carried, throughout all England, before him, hoisted on high in the ship which brought him over from France: In nave vero archpræsul vexillo crucis quod archiepiscopi Cantuarienses tanquam totius Angliæ primates, coram se semper bajulare consueverunt, erecto, per quod navis ejus ab aliis discerni poterat. (*Ut supra*, p. 112.) On going into church, just before his martyrdom, the saint: Crucem præferri sibi præcepit.—*Alanus de Tewksbury, in Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar.* ed. Lupo, t. i, p. 128.

procession, their respective crosses, as often as the road was wide enough, were both to be carried together,—that of Canterbury on the right, that of York on the left side of the way; but when too narrow for both to go abreast, York was to yield room and let Canterbury march first: the same preeminence was given to the archbishop of Canterbury in provincial councils, at coronations, and all public ceremonials within this kingdom.[83] While making his visitations, or going through the country in solemn array, the cross was borne before the prelate by his chaplain, the croyser, who, like the archbishop himself, as well as everybody in his train on such occasions, always rode on horseback.[84] At

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[83] After this controversy had been carried on for many years, it was at last happily agreed, A.D. 1353, that: Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis tanquam præeminentior ad dexteram partem regis sedebit, et Eboracensis in sinistra. Et Cantuariensis et Eboracensis archiepiscopi, si via lata fuerit, simul incedent; sed in introitu ostiorum vel aliis locis strictis, ubi cruces simul deferri non possunt, crux Cantuariensis præcedet, et crux Eboracensis subsequetur. —*Stephanus Birchington in Vitis Archiep. Cantuar.* ed. Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* t. i, p. 44; and again at p. 77.

[84] Sicut erat (Simon de Langham, archiep. Cantuar.) per stratam regiam itinerando versus Otteford, de equo cruciferarius suus ad terram cadens, hasta crucis enormiter fracta est, sed celeriter reparata. (*Ibid.* p. 47.) Fitz-Stephen told us just now, note 80, p. 228, how St. Thomas of Canterbury rode to court on horseback; but whether the steed mounted by our archbishops used to be of any

each one of those parts, however, of the liturgy whereat a bishop should; so did, and yet does an archbishop, employ the usual pastoral staff, which he held in his own left hand.[85] When therefore

particular colour, or had certain trappings, we cannot say. If, however, our doctors of divinity bestrode jet-black mules so richly caparisoned as we behold one of them in a troop of pilgrims on their way home from Canterbury, shown in an illumination from a manuscript of Lidgate's *Storie of Thebes*, and published by Shaw, *Dresses, etc. of the Middle Ages*, t. ii, p. 62, then may we be sure our primate's horse was splendidly appointed in its housing. Some of our bishops, we know, kept up much state about their horses. Of one bishop of Durham, Anthony Beck, an old writer, Robert de Graystanes, tells us: Pannum maximi pretii comparavit; et ex eo palefredis suis coopertoria, quæ huces nuncupantur, fecit. (*Hist. Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, p. 64, published by the Surtees Society.) Abroad,—in Italy in particular,—to several archbishops was granted, by the pope, a privilege of riding a white palfrey, the trappings of which were also white, when they went in processions; thus, of Pisa, for example, we learn: Equo albo cum naco albo in processionibus utendi et crucem per subjectas vobis provincias portandi . . . licentiam damus. (*Ughellus, Italia Sacra*, t. iii, p. 409.) The pope's horse was white, too, but covered with crimson, and had a silver bridle: Pontifex induit planetam albam, pallium, et mitram sollemnem, descendensque de palatio usque ad exitum porticelli, ubi albus palafridus cum nacco scarlatæ superposito et argenteo freno sollemniter præparatus est . . . equitando incedit.—*Ordo Rom.* XII, *auct. Cencio*, ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 185.

examples are met with of medieval sculpture and painting, in which an archbishop is seen figured leaning on the staff of his cross, or folding it within his arms, let not the reader take them as so many proofs to show that such was in truth the ritual usage followed in those times: the cross, instead of a pastoral staff, is put by the side, or in the hands of the archbishop, not to mean that he used so to carry it, but to signify, by such an emblem, the high place which, as a prelate of the Church, he held in her hierarchy.

Never of a metal less costly than silver, this archiepiscopal cross was sometimes wrought of gold, and sparkled with jewels.[85] Although frequently shown in monuments as a mere cross without any kind of image upon it, still we have good

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[85] Archbishop Thomas Arundell, besides many other splendid gifts to his cathedral of Canterbury, presented it with: Unum baculum pastoralem magnum argenteum et totaliter deauratum. (*Ang. Sac.* t. i, p. 62.) Other rich and curious pastoral staves, possessed by Canterbury cathedral before Arundell's times, are mentioned in a note of this volume, p. 190.

[86] ij cruces portatiles pro domino archiepiscopo, unde unus baculus tornatilis.

Crux Johannis archiepiscopi argentea deaurata cum ij imaginibus argenteis.

Crux ejusdem parva de auro, cum ligno Dominico et duplici patibulo.—*Ornamenta in Vestiar. Eccl. Christi Cantuar.* A.D. 1315, *Dart's Canterbury*, Append. p. xii.

reasons for believing that not unoften it bore on each of its two sides a figure of our Lord hanging nailed to the rood.[87] Perhaps such a double crucifix was peculiar to an archiepiscopal, as distinguished from the common processional cross; thus letting us see that formerly a figure of Christ crucified was turned looking towards the archbishop as he followed it, while another met the eyes of the crowd who gazed upon the fore-side of this cross, as it came borne along immediately in front of our primates. Now, the cross carried before the pope has always a figure of Christ upon it, and this is always turned to face the pontiff; so too should the cross be held, if it have a crucifix, and be carried before an archbishop.

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[87] Though the archiepiscopal cross is very often figured without an image of our Lord upon it, yet there are several instances to the contrary. An archbishop from a manuscript in the British Museum (*Biblioth. Reg.* 2, *A.* xxii), engraved by Shaw (*Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, t. i, pl. 16), bears an archiepiscopal cross, upon which hangs the crucified body of Christ; and in the grave-brass of Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin, A.D. 1417, at New College chapel, Oxford, we find the same thing.

The "crux cum ij imaginibus", and another "cum duplici patibulo", or two images on Christ crucified, both mentioned in the foregoing note, warrant the idea, that our English archiepiscopal crosses, if not always at least often, had an image before, and an image behind, on them, and each the same subject—our Saviour as hanging on the cross.

Till towards the end of the twelfth century, no ecclesiastic, however high his rank, did once presume to have a cross borne before him in any part of this country, except our two archbishops: about that period, however, to the no small grief of some English churchmen, papal legates, though not even bishops, by virtue of their office had a cross carried before them, and wore mitres.[88]

SECTION XVI.

The next article of solemn ministerial attire among the Anglo-Saxon priesthood asking our notice, are

THE SANDALS,

which we know from a variety of sources were, in make and material, like those worn at the public service in other quarters of the Church[89] during

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[88] Non est ante hæc tempora (A.D. 1186) archiepiscopo Cantuariensi talis illata injuria, ut in provincia ejusdem archiepiscopi, immo et in ecclesia, ut de cruce sileam, legatus aliquis mitratus incederet. Nunc autem quidam Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalis quidem sed diaconus, alter vero Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganeus necdum sacratus sed Coventrensis ecclesiæ electus, ambo præ se cruces ferentes in Cantuariensi provincia honorem et reverentiam habuerunt legationis. (*Chron. Gervasii*, ed. Twysden, t. ii, p. 1485.) Gervase was a monk at Christ Church, Canterbury.

[89] In his interesting *Iter Alemannicum*, p. 264, as well

that period, and in after times in this country; though perhaps our English bishops may have bestowed more ornament upon this individual portion of their pontificals than their Anglo-Saxon forerunners in the episcopacy. At the same moment he finds a mystic signification in the liturgical attire of the altar's ministers, many an ecclesiastical author has incidentally let us know some curious particulars about their shape and ornament, and among the rest, of these sandals. Our own St. Beda,[90] who, in fact, is the earliest writer

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as in his excellent work, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, t. i, p. 252, Gerbert has given an engraving of a very old pair of episcopal sandals, which he happened to find at Reichenau, near Constance. They are of leather, apparently once stained purple, and still have their original embroidery down the front. With good reason Gerbert supposes them to have belonged to St. Egino, who was bishop of Verona, and died A.D. 802. From these we may judge of the shape and ornament of the sandals worn at that period by our Anglo-Saxon prelates. The form of the episcopal sandal about half a century before St. Austin began his mission among the Anglo-Saxons, may be seen from the Ravenna mosaics, of which we have given two wood-cuts at p. 319, t. i, of this work.

[90] St. Beda says: Proinde Marcus dicendo calceari eos sandaliis vel soleis, aliquid hoc calceamentum mysticæ significationis habere admonet, ut pes nec tectus sit neque nudus ad terram, id est nec occultetur Evangelium, nec terrenis commodis innitatur.—*Beda in Marcum*, cap. vi, lib. ii, Op. t. v, p. 58.

and founder, as it were, of such a symbolizing school for western Christendom, in speaking of these sandals, leads us to think that during his day, they must have been so fitted upon the foot as to leave a good part of the instep, if not quite bare, at least transparent through the open work of the pattern according to which the upper-leather was cut: after such a fashion were those found upon St. Cuthberht.[91]

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[91] The sandals found on St. Cuthberht's feet when his grave was opened, A.D. 1104, are thus described by Reginald, who wrote but a few years afterwards: In pedibus calciamenta pontificalia gerit (S. Cuthbertus) quæ vulgus vocare sandalia consuevit. Quæ, ex regione superiori multis foraminibus minimis patere videntur quorum operamina artificiosa ex industria taliter confecta comprobantur. (*Reginaldus Dunel.* p. 88.) These sandals had not, however, been worn by the saint during his life-time; for immediately after death, when he was laid in his first grave, A.D. 687, the shoes with which he was then buried, though new, seem to have been no other than those in common use, about that part of the country, at the period. The unknown but earliest writer of St. Cuthberht's life, while describing the taking up of that holy bishop's body eleven years afterwards, remarks: Omnia autem vestimenta et calceamenta—attrita non erant—et ficones novi, quibus calceatus est, in basilica nostra inter reliquias pro testimoniis usque hodie habentur. (*Vita S. Cuthberti, Auct. Anon.* apud *Ven. Bedæ Opera Hist. Minora*, ed. Stevenson, p. 282.) It was therefore, not before the year 698, that the sandals which Reginald describes could have been put

St. Osmund and his Norman brother bishops wrought, as far as we can learn, no alteration in the sandal; and it still continued to be made here as elsewhere[92] of leather, stained, however, with the finest tints, and with the upper part so perforated with small holes as to resemble a beautiful design, and making it look as if pierced with windows.[93]

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on St. Cuthberht's feet. While he was a priest the saint used to wear leathern leggins: Semel calceatus tibracis, quas pelliceas habere solebat, sic menses perduraret integros. (*Vita S. Cuthberti, auct. V. Beda, ibid.* p. 86.) In these boots St. Cuthberht must have often said mass, as he let whole months pass away without taking them off, through a spirit of mortification.

[92] Hildebert, a writer of the eleventh century, gives the following symbolic meaning to the open work in the upper part of the sandal spoken of by Reginald: Optima enim misistis sandalia, in quibus et ostensa est amicitia, et oblata doctrina. Ea namque torporem nostrum secretis excitant stimulis, et quasi quadam manu pulsant ut evigilemus et assumamus nobis pedes evangelizantium bona ... Nimirum consuetudinis est et rationis pertusa desuper esse sandalia, ut totus appareat pes nec totus sit coopertus. Prædicator enim nec abscondere omnibus, nec omnibus Evangelica debet aperire sacramenta. (*Hildeberti*, Epist. xxxi, lib. iii, Op. p. 192.) The true reading seems to be: Ut *nec* totus appareat pes, etc. At the end of *Povyard's Dissertazione sopra l'Anteriorità del bacio de' piedi de' Sommi Pontefici*, the reader will find figured many shapes of episcopal sandals.

[93] Innocent III, towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, A.D. 1198-1216, while he assigned the same before

Hardly had a hundred years rolled by, when more costly materials were sought for and employed: not only the "windowed" leather spoken of by Pope Innocent, but the richest silks, elaborately embroidered, were used here in England for making episcopal sandals, when that pontiff wrote his beautiful work on the Mass; for among the ornaments of Salisbury cathedral, A.D. 1222, were "two pair of sandals—one of blue silk, the other of green cendel embroidered";[94] and not only were these

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mentioned emblematic signification to the episcopal sandals, describes them thus: Sandalia vero de subtus integram habent soleam, desuper autem corium fenestratum quia gressus prædicatoris debent et subtus esse muniti, ne polluantur terrenis: secundum illud *Excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris*, et sursum aperti, quatenus ad cognoscenda cœlestia revelentur... Quod autem sandalia quibusdam locis aperta, quibusdam clausa sunt, designat quod Evangelica prædicatio nec omnibus debet revelari, nec omnibus debet abscondi. Sicut scriptum est: *Vobis datum est nosse mysteria regni Dei, cæteris autem in parabolis.—Innocentii PP.* lib. i, cap. xlviii, *de Sacro Altaris Mysterio.*

[94] Along with the rest of his pontifical ornaments, in which our countryman, Pope Hadrian IV, was arrayed for his burial, A.D. 1159, and were found quite whole when the large granite sarcophagus, that as yet serves for his coffin, was opened, and officially examined by the canons of St. Peter's church, at Rome, one of them, Grimaldi, noticed, and thus described, that pontiff's sandals: Sandaliis corii Turcici ad flores margaritis ornatis sine cruce, etc.—*Sac. Vat. Bas. Cryp. Mon.* ed. Dionigi, p. 124.

English episcopal shoes curiously adorned with gold and silver needlework, but often might they be seen ornamented with the finest pearls.[95] Judging from our sepulchral monuments and illuminated manuscripts, the "corium fenestratum", or open-worked leather episcopal sandal, fell into disuse about the fourteenth century in England, and such a style of shoe was left in possession of the laity, among whom, at that period and later, we know it was the fashion to wear shoes with the upper-leather cut into a variety of beautiful designs resembling the tracery of window-heads, through which the bright colour of the green, blue, or scarlet stocking beneath, was shown to great advantage. Of the smart dressy layman, who acted as "parish-clerk", Chaucer says:

> With Poules windowes corven on his shoos,
> In hosen red he went ful fetisly;[96]

and the words of our poet are well illustrated by

Duo paria sandaleorum, unum de serico indico quod sunt Episcopi Goscelini, et aliud de viridi cendell. brusdato quod fuit Episcopi Herberti.—*See at the end of this work*, p. 105.

[95] In the treasury of St. Paul's cathedral, London, A.D. 1295, there were: Sandalia Henrici de Wengham episcopi cum flosculis de perlis indici coloris, et leopardis de perlis albis, etc.—*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, new edition, p. 315.

[96] *The Milleres Tale*, works, vol. ii, p. 99, edited by Sir H. Nicolas.

the accompanying wood-cut of a painting, now unhappily no more, but which once adorned the walls of St. Stephen's chapel, in the old palace at Westminster.[97]

On some of our English bishops' sandals, the sign of the cross was wrought, either in gold needlework or with precious stones.[98] Its form may often be well seen marked upon the feet of our prelates in illuminated manuscripts, of which we gave a specimen just now,[99] and upon their sepulchral effigies, several

[97] To the kindness of Mr. H. Shaw am I indebted for the use of this block of a painting, which, being done in

of which yet show, not only streaks of their ancient gilding and colour, but the now empty sockets scooped out in the stone all about the mitre, the chasuble, and the sandals too, for holding mock jewels. The monument in Worcester cathedral to Bishop Giffard, figured in this work,[1] shows that

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the reign of Edward III, admirably illustrates the words of a provincial council held at London A.D. 1342, wherein such shoes, as well as scarlet and green stockings, are forbidden to the clergy, some of whom are thus reproved for wearing these worldly ornaments of attire: In sacris etiam ordinibus constituti—velut effœminati militari potius quam clericali habitu induti—caligis etiam rubeis scaccatis et viridibus, sotularibusque rostratis et incisis multimode, etc. (*Wilkins, Concil.* t. ii, p. 703). Mr. Roach Smith is fortunate in having, among his collection of English antiquities, several fine specimens of these shoes themselves, and of men's pattens, found during some recent excavations in London. That the pattens were worn by the clergy without any blame, and in the church itself, is clear from the following extract: "For two pair of pattens for the priest." *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary Hill, London*, A.D. 1491, illust. by Nichols, p. 100.

[98] In the treasury of St. Paul's cathedral, London, A.D. 1295, there were: Sandalia de rubeo sameto cum caligis breudatis . . . sotulares sunt breudatæ ad modum crucis.—*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 315.

[99] See the figure of the pope in the wood-cut at p. 120 of this volume.

[1] The wood-cut of it may be found at p. 371, vol. i.

his crimson sandals were ornamented with a cross marked out by gems.[2]

These episcopal sandals were, from the days of St. Osmund, made in England of almost every hue —green, light blue, black—but more generally scarlet: in other parts of the Church they were, with few exceptions, either black or red. Indeed, as a liturgical writer during the twelfth century (Sicard) observes, this kind of shoe took the name of sandal from the red dye with which the leather they were made of had been coloured.[3]

During the Anglo-Saxon period, sandals were, no doubt, allowed to be worn at the holy Sacrifice by priest, deacon, and subdeacon, in this country, as they were upon the continent. But they must have differed in shape and adornment, according

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[2] Geffrey de Loduno, Bishop of Le Mans, bequeathed, A.D. 1255, to that church, among other pontifical ornaments: Sandalia et sotulares rubri serici auri preciosorumque lapidum varietate distincta. (*Gesta Gaufridi de Loduno*, ed. Mabillon, *Analect.* p. 335.) This is an exact description of Bishop Giffard's sandals. They were coloured crimson; and, from the sockets on them, were evidently jeweled. See our wood-cut, vol. i, p. 371.

[3] Sandalia dicuntur ab herba sandace (*sandyce*), vel sandalico colore quo depinguntur. Est autem genus calciamenti quo partim pes tegitur inferius, partim nudus relinquitur inferius, factum ex pellibus animalium mortuorum. Intus album, foris nigrum, vel rubeum, multis filis et lineis contextum, gemmis ornatum, etc.—*Sicardi Ep. Cremonensis Mitrale*, apud Georgium, *De Lit. Rom. Pont.* t. i, p. 119.

to the office and dignity of the wearer: this we gather from Amalarius, who wrote between A.D. 820-830.[4]

But if not about, at least soon after the time of St. Osmund, this kind of shoe began to be with held from the clergy of the second order, and has ever since been exclusively confined to bishops and mitred abbots.[5]

From the time that the Church reserved the use of the sandal to the episcopal order, she has shown herself, especially here in England, most watchful in hindering the second order of the clergy from wearing shoes or stockings dyed either green or

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[4] Varietas sandaliorum varietatem ministrorum pingit. Episcopi et sacerdotes pene unum est officium: at quia nomine et honore discernuntur, discernuntur etiam varietate sandaliorum . . . Episcopus habet ligaturam in suis sandaliis, quam non habet presbyter . . . Diaconus, quia dissimilis est episcopo ab officio, non est necesse, ut habeat dissimilia sandalia, et ipse ligaturam habet, quia suum est ire ad comitatum. Subdiaconus, quia in adjutorio est diacono, et pene in eodem officio, necesse est, ut habeat dissimilia sandalia, ne forte æstimetur diaconus.—*Amalarii De Eccles. Officiis*, lib. ii, cap. xxv, *Auct.* tom. i, p. 391.

[5] Diaconi non debent uti compagis, id est sandaliis, neque manipulis, id est calciamentis episcopalibus, absque indulgentia sedis apostolicæ speciali. Olim enim utebantur, quia eorum erat discurrere per comitatum. Hodie ergo nec ipsi nec sacerdotes utuntur: sed episcopi solum, ut per varietatem sandaliorum, notetur varietas officiorum.—*Durandus in Ration.* lib. iii, cap. viii, § 11, p. 72.

scarlet,—colours which our old national councils have, over and over again, loudly forbidden to them in their garments, and especially and expressly, in any kind of covering for the feet or legs. The council of Exeter, held A.D. 1287, ordained that the clergy should use no other but black boots;[6] and in the council of London, A.D. 1342, a more pointed prohibition against the use of green or scarlet-coloured leggings—*caligæ rubeæ scaccatæ et virides*—by the clergy, is inserted in the second of its canons.[7] Even as late as about the year 1480, Bishop Waneflete, in the statutes which he drew up for his college at Oxford, "restrains all and singular the fellows and scholars from aniwise using within the university or abroad, high-lows, or red, or peaked boots, or dresses of any other form than those which appear to be suitable and agreeable to the priestly state, the holy canons", etc.;[8] and still later, Bishop Fox, A.D. 1517, the munificent founder of another college in the same university, forbids the members of his establishment "to presume to use in the university, or away from it, red, ruby-coloured,

[6] Præcipimus quod pannis sericis, vel viridibus, aut rubeis sotularibus consutiis, caligis aliis quam nigris . . . non utantur (clerici).—*Synodus Exoniensis*, cap. xvii, apud Wilkins, *Concil. Mag. Brit.* t. ii, p. 141.

[7] Wilkins, *Concil.* t. ii, p. 703.

[8] *Statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford*, translated by Ward, p. 127.

white, green, or motley high-lows, or peaked shoes, or of other shape or die than shall seem . . . to be suitable to and becoming the degree of priests".[9] Nothing, therefore, could display a greater want of knowledge about the antiquities of our old English Catholic Church and the canons of her medieval councils, than representing, in their Mass-vestments, mere priests arrayed in scarlet boots, thus making them appear guilty of breaking the ordinances of the Church while about the most solemn act of their office—offering up the holy Sacrifice. Yet this, and other like grievous blunders, are often met with in works which undertake to teach what were the liturgical usages of olden time in this country. If Strutt, whose labours have afforded such invaluable aid to the student of English ecclesiastical antiquity, could see how some of his plates have, in a late republication of them, been capriciously coloured, that carefully exact artist would stare in pained amazement.

Though doctors of divinity were in Catholic England allowed, as a mark of honour, to wear a scarlet cassock and a scarlet hood, lined with ermine (and effigies of them clad in such a coloured dress are to be met with), yet they never, on the strength of this privilege, put on the episcopal sandal—the scarlet shoe. The only seeming ex-

[9] *The Foundation Statutes for Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, ed. Ward, p. 137.

ception to the canonical enactments were acolytes: in by-gone times, as now, those who acted as such in the Church services were, very often, lay youths. Then, too, as at present in some places, they were clothed in cassocks of scarlet, and on their feet they had, like Chaucer's layman parish-clerk, black, windowed shoes, which let the scarlet stockings be seen from beneath, or a kind of low boot, all scarlet. One of the illuminations in a manuscript done about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and in my possession, shows two tonsured clerks, in surplices and scarlet cassocks, waiting on the celebrant at a funeral; and in the highly curious illuminations of that beautiful manuscript containing the coronation service for the kings of France (*Tiberius*, B. VIII, in the British Museum), an acolyte, wearing scarlet boots as well as scarlet cassock, is more than once figured.

Whether our Anglo-Saxon bishops, along with their sandals, wore that kind of wide ornamented

STOCKING, OR RATHER FOOTED LEGGING NOW USED,

and denominated, formerly "campagi", but at present, "caligæ", is uncertain; nor are we able to ascertain if the sandal itself was like a low slipper, or a species of short boot reaching, not only beyond the ancle, but some way up the leg: in illuminations, the alb is necessarily figured as falling down over the instep, and thus hides the higher part of

the bishop's sandals. Those, however, upon the feet of St. Swithin, in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold,[10] and of St. Benedict,[11] are so distinctly and carefully drawn, that we may see they were, in shape, like a high shoe, yet made, not only of another sort of material but after a much more ornate fashion than such as are worn by the various lay-folks, and even virgin saints, represented in that magnificent work of Anglo-Saxon art and penmanship. Amalarius takes no notice of any other sort of ceremonial covering for the feet and legs of bishops than the sandal, which he makes to be the same thing as the "campagus."[12] Theodulphus, who wrote A.D. 794, but a very few years earlier than Amalarius, while telling us that these "campagi" were a part of a bishop's ministerial garments, lets us know, that before arraying himself in them, the episcopal wearer drew upon his feet and legs a species of linen stocking.[13]

Towards, however, the end of the tenth century,

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[10] *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv, plate 29.

[11] *Ibid.* plate 30.

[12] Congruum est ut nosmetipsi absolvamus de sandaliis, sive alio nomine campobis, qui supersunt in pedibus.—Lib. ii, cap. xviii, *De Ecc. Off.* p. 389.

[13] Linea crusque pedesque tegant talaria, ut apte
Qui superaddatur campagus ipse decens.
—*Carm.* lib. v, carm. iii, vers. 458. Indeed, the same thing is hinted at by Amalarius: Sicut per linum quo pedes vestiuntur, castigatio pedum significatur, ita per

these stockings became a formal article of a bishop's vestments. This we learn from a precious manuscript of the Mass, written out by order of an abbot of Corbey, Ratoldus, who died A.D. 986.[14]

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sandalia profectus est prædicandum.—*De Eccl. Off.* lib. ii, cap. xviii, p. 389.

Not only after, but very long before, St. Osmund's days, did the church in this country strive to wean all ecclesiastics from following the fashions set by laymen, with regard to dress: hence the Council of Clovesho, A.D. 747, strictly forbade all clerks to swathe their legs with those narrow bandages so often seen in Anglo-Saxon illuminations: Vestibus consuetis juxta formam videlicet priorum, sive clerici, sive monachi deinceps utantur; nec imitentur seculares in vestitu crurum per fasciolas, etc.—*Concil. Clovesoviense*, cap. xxviii, ed. Wilkins, t. i, p. 99.

[14] Among other interesting rubrics in this valuable codex, we read the following: *Primo quidem minister deferat caligas usque ad genu tendentes*, etc. *Respondet episcopus*.... jube sanctificari has caligas; ut in gressu resplendeat Evangelii veritas, etc. *Deinde minister det sandalia*, etc. (*Missa Vetus ex Cod. Ratoldi*, apud Menardum, *in S. Gregorii Lib. Sacram.* Append. p. 260); and from the allusion made to the symbolic meaning of these "caligæ", or bishop's stockings, in that part of the prayer to be said at putting them on, given above, we may infer that, even then, they had become highly ornamented. Indeed, at the very beginning of that same century, Riculfus Helenensis, A.D. 915, deemed his episcopal stockings, as well as sandals (caligas et sandalias paria duo), to be worth bequeathing, along with several other vestments, sacred vessels, and books, to a church, for the use of all future bishops of that

With respect to this country and the times which immediately followed the coming over here of the Normans, and the introduction into so many places through the land of St. Osmund's Use for his church of Salisbury, amid the scanty memorials left us upon this point, we see enough to show us that our English bishops began at an early period to wear these "caligæ" or episcopal stockings, and upon which they bestowed costly materials and elaborate adornment.[15] Among the few episcopal ornaments still to be found in England, not the least interesting is one of the caligæ, or vestmental stockings of Bishop Waneflete's, kept at Oxford, in St. Mary Magdalen college, which he built and so munificently endowed: it is of cloth of silver, embroidered with birds in gold, with flowers in coloured silks, and with sun-rays darting from a cloud, seemingly the device of Edward IV; along with it, one of

Bishop Waneflete's episcopal stocking.

see.—*Testamentum Riculfi, Append. in Reginone Prumiensi*, ed. Baluzio, p. 626.

[15] Belonging to the church of Salisbury, A.D. 1222, there were "iiij paria caligarum" (see *Third Part* of this work,

the same good prelate's sandals of crimson velvet, dotted with bright small spots of gold, and worked with large flowers and leaves in coloured silk, preserved with equal care in the same place, the reader will see figured in these two wood-cuts.[16]

Bishop Wanefiete's episcopal sandal.

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p. 105): and among the splendid vestments in the treasury of St. Paul's cathedral, London, A.D. 1295, we find set down: Sandalia cum caligis de rubeo sameto diasperato, breudata cum ymaginibus regum in rotellis simplicibus. Item sandalia Henrici de Wengham episcopi cum flosculis de perlis indici coloris, et leopardis de perlis albis, cum caligis breudatis et frectatis de armis palatis et undatis.—*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, new ed. pp. 315, 316.

[16] This crimson velvet is of a deep rich pile, and wrought with flowers, in gold, and with leaves, like ivy, of silk, half yellow, half green; the little dots of gold, with which the velvet is thickly sprinkled, are found very often on English velvet vestments of the latter part of the fifteenth century. As the reader may see, in shape the sandal was made like a high half-boot; it is lined with very thin white kid. It has no heel, properly so called, and its size is large, being one foot in length, and six inches high.

The stocking is of silver tissue, worked with gold birds, flowers, blue, yellow, and white, and a peculiar ornament—

Our Catholic bishops, all through the Latin Church, wear these ornamented stockings along with their sandals whenever they pontificate, except at Mass for the dead.

The use of purple stockings for every-day wear by bishops and the higher class of prelates, was quite unknown to our old English Catholic Church; and is but of a comparatively modern introduction at Rome itself, where, however, it is regulated by strict rules. Bishops chosen from the secular clergy have the right of wearing purple stockings, purple collar, and purple cassock everywhere, and at all times; but mere prelates, though of the higher order, are strictly forbidden to wear either purple stockings, purple cassock, or purple collar, anywhere out of the city of Rome, or away from the court of the supreme pontiff.[17]

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a nebule, white and blue, with yellow rays shooting from its edge. It is two feet, two inches high, and in width seven inches. For the obliging use of these two wood-cuts I owe my best thanks to that accomplished antiquary, M. H. Bloxam, Esq.

[17] By an Apostolical Institution, issued by Pius VII A.D. 1818, it was declared, concerning the higher rank of prelates, or titular apostolic Prothonotaries: Jus erit Protonotariis apostolicis titularibus extra Urbem duntaxat, et quando eo loci ubi degunt, non adsit summus pontifex, uti habitu prælatitio, videlicet veste talari, et palliolo nuncupato *mantelletto*, nigri coloris.

Usus collaris, et caligarum coloris violacei omnino interdicitur.

SECTION XVII.

The last of those distinctions generally, though not exclusively, assigned to bishops, is

THE FALDSTOOL,[18]

the very name of which teaches us to understand by it a kind of chair or seat, which can be opened out or shut, just as may be needed. From the

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Sacrum operantes a simplicibus sacerdotibus minime differunt, etc. (*Manuale Ecclesiasticorum seu Collectio Decret. Authent. Sac. Rit. Cong.* Romæ, 1841, pp. 183, 184). If any individual, therefore, even were he an apostolic prothonotary, were to use, for instance here in England, purple cassock and collar at mass; were he to presume to dress like a bishop, and go into society in purple stockings, he would not only be acting in direct opposition to a papal mandate, but run the risk of being deprived of his prelacy if he did not heed the second admonition addressed to him by his ecclesiastical superior, on account of such a breach of discipline; for it is ordained by the same pontiff: Qui secus facere, aliisque præter memorata privilegiis, ac juribus uti auserint, si ab ordinario tanquam ab apostolica sede delegato semel et bis admoniti, non paruerint, eo ipso privatos honore se sciant.—*Ibid.* p. 186.

[18] The word "faldistorium" undoubtedly sprang, not from a Latin, but a Teutonic root; and in its first true form, "faldstool" (folding-stool), sounds so very English, as to make us believe it was given to this sort of chair by our Anglo-Saxon fathers.

ease with which it could be put up and carried about, the faldstool usually accompanied a bishop[19] when he went about his diocess, or celebrated in his own city away from the cathedral which, as that word itself indicates, is no other than the church wherein the episcopal "sedes"—see—or bishop's chair is erected,[20] and thus became sub-

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[19] The use of the faldstool for the use of a bishop, is particularly required by our old English ritual. In the *Consecratio Episcoporum*, the rubric said: Comprovinciales episcopi deducant eum (consecrandum) per manus coram consecratore sedente super faldistorium in medio majoris altaris, dorso verso ad altare, sedilia episcoporum in modum corone a dextris et a sinistris electi.—The *Liber Pontificalis* of Bishop Lacy, ed. Barnes, p. 92.

[20] The one cathedral holding the one chair of a diocess, is well marked in our old English rubrics. Bishop Lacy's Pontifical at Exeter says: Cum ad sedem episcopii sui consecratus episcopus pervenerit, priusquam in cathedra ponatur, ab aliquo episcopo cui à metropolitano injunctum fuerit, hec oratio ante ipsam cathedram dicatur (p. 100). The bishop's chair in our old cathedrals was often a work of great beauty, and elaborately wrought in stone; such, to be seen even yet at Durham, was the one erected by Bishop Hatfield, c. A.D. 1350: Dominus Thomas Hatfeld per plures annos ante mortem suam, fecit sedem episcopalem inter chorum et magnum altare ex parte australe, de opere lapideo valde sumptuose, etc.—*Wills of the Northern Counties*, published by the Surtees Society, part i, p. 38.

Unaware that a bishop may not have two sees or chairs at once in the same diocess, and knowing but little of

stituted for it in every other place, and was, in a certain manner, employed in its stead.

MS. in the British Museum, *Biblioth. Reg.* 2 B. VII, fol. 292.

Of the shape according to which the faldistorium used to be fashioned, some faint idea may be formed by the one upon which an archbishop is figured sitting, in an English illumination, which we put before the reader in this wood-cut.

On a very few occasions was it wrought out

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ancient ecclesiastical history, even less of the canons of the Church, some architects, when left to themselves in such matters, have wished to set up an episcopal throne in a college chapel (or, as they would wrongly call it, collegiate church), and even in the parish church near the bishop's dwelling, though he has his see already elsewhere. However great or crowded may be a college; though its chapel, like that of King's College, Cambridge, be very large and one of the finest buildings in the kingdom, still it is never called, nor ought we think it, anything more than "a chapel." To be "collegiate", a church must have daily choir-service sung in it, support a dean and canons, and possess a chapter, as if it were a cathedral. Moreover, to be talking of "enthronizations" and "cathedrals" in England, is and will be inaccurate, until we get back our hierarchy.

of gold itself, and jewelled;[21] sometimes, too, of silver,[22] oftener, however, as now, of gilt metal, or of ebony[23] and the more common sorts of wood.[24]

No church that does not really hold the "cathedra", or see, from which a bishop takes his title, can be a cathedral. A vicar-apostolic's cathedral, with its chair, is deemed to be in that city of which he is called bishop; and before he can celebrate in the one, or be enthroned in the other, he will have to travel, "in partibus infidelium", and go, as it may need, to Egypt or to Asia Minor. Ere using the terms, let us strive and get back the Church's true, old, canonical form of government—the hierarchy; not, however, the half of it, but its entireness, that is, for the clergy of the second order, as well as for the bishops.

[21] The magnificent faldstool given to Pope Clement IV, A.D. 1269, by Charles, king of Naples, is thus described in the Vatican inventory: Facistorium magnum aureum, cum lapidibus pretiosis, quod D. rex Carolus fel. rec. Clementi Papæ IV donavit et dedit.—Apud Garampi, *Illustrazione di un Sigillo della Garfagnana*, p. 81.

[22] Of Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham, A.D. 1187, Gerfrey of Coldingham tells us, that on taking the cross for the holy war, he had made, among other things to carry along with him, a magnificent silver chair: Episcopus vero cruce suscepta . . . fecit sibi vasa diversa ex argento, sedile quoque argenteum mirandi operis et decoris, ut majorum episcoporum sive ducum gloriam superaret (*Hist. Dunelmensis Scrip. Tres*, p. 13). Surely such a chair must have been the bishop's liturgical faldstool.

[23] In Pope Boniface VIII's inventory we find: Unum falcistorium parvum de ebano, quod jungitur simul sicut una tabula. Item unum facistorium de ebano.—*Garampi*, p. 81.

Cloths of great price, such as golden baudekin, and silks of a rich texture, elaborately embroidered, were always thrown over it[25] by way of covering, but after such a graceful manner, as not to hide the artist's beautiful handiwork which he had bestowed upon its paw-like feet, as well as the four corners at top, which, if not always, very often at least, were made to end in the likeness of an animal's neck and head. In later times in this country, the faldstool was "a chair of woode, covered with crymsen velvet, and the pomells and handells thereof garnished with silver".[26]

Not only to bishops was the use of the faldstool always allowed, but also to abbots,[27] and even to

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[24] Una cathedra lignea quæ fuit Johannis episcopi quam habet episcopus Ricardus.—*Visit. in Thesaur. S. Pauli Londini*, A.D. 1295, *Dugdale's St. Paul's*, p. 315.

[25] Such hangings are enumerated thus in the Salisbury inventory: Pannicli ad faldistorium ij.—Third Part of this work, p. 105.

[26] A faldstool of this kind was "parcell of such stuffe as came from Canterberye."—*Mon. Anglic.* new ed. t. i, p. 67.

[27] At the service which took place when the new abbot went to the bishop for the solemn blessing, our old English rubric directed a faldstool to be set for the abbot on the steps before the altar: Et ordinetur pro abbate unum faldistorium ante gradum altaris. (*Benedictio Abbatis*, in Bishop Lacy's *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 103.) The casual notice, by Matthew Paris, of the faldstool, is bound up with a very touching scene which took place in the chapter-house of St. Alban's, a few days before the death, A.D.

some high personages among the laity, such as the queen at the coronation, when "for her shalbe ordeyned, on the left side of the high aulter (in the churche of Westmynster) a folding stole, wherein she shall site while the king shalbe requyred of the keeping the customes and lawes of England."[28]

SECTION XVIII.

Here perhaps the liturgical reader may wish to know whether

THE ANGLO-SAXON, LIKE THE SALISBURY, RITUAL VARIED THE COLOUR OF THE VESTMENTS.

From some of the most interesting monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity which have come down to us, we learn that the Church, especially in Gaul,

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1214, of John, abbot of that far-famed monastery: Et fecit (abbas Johannes) apportari secum unam cathedram quam vulgariter faudestolam appellamus. Et cum præsidisset loco suo, ut moris est, superiori, obortis lacrymis uberrimis cum crebris singultibus,—ait, etc. præcepit abbas ut illud sedile de quo prædictum est, allatum poneretur in medio super tapetium quem locum *Judicium* appellamus. Et ivit sessum super illud petensque sibi dari a singulis, singulas disciplinas expoliavit se usque ad carnem nudam, etc.—*Matt. Paris. in Vitis S. Albani Abbatum*, p. 72.

[28] *Device for the coronation of King Henry VII*, p. 13, *Rutland Papers*, edited by Jerdan, for the *Camden Society*.

began at an early period to distinguish the higher festivals of the year by the employment, as at Easter for example, of white vestments in her service for that time:[29] those sacrificial garments must have been therefore of some darker hue at the less solemn seasons. A practice which then obtained in Gaul, was no doubt followed, during the same epoch, throughout this island by the British priesthood, and afterwards among the Christianized Anglo-Saxons, with whom we know the kingly purple, for sacerdotal ministering vesture, found much favour.[30] Other colours were adopted

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[29] St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, in his will, A.D. 499, bequeathed to his successor in that see, his white chasuble for Easter use: Futuro episcopo successori meo, amphibalum album paschalem relinquo. (*S. Remigii Ep. Rem. Testamentum*, ed. Gallandio, *Vet. Pat. Biblioth.* t. x, p. 806.) Cotemporary with St. Remigius lived St. Cæsarius, of whom we are told by the friend who wrote the life of this illustrious bishop of Arles: Casulamque quam processoriam habebat albamque Paschalem dedit ei, etc. (*Vita S. Cæsarii*, ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* t. i, p. 643.) Having occasion to speak of one of this same holy bishop's chasubles, St. Gregory of Tours incidentally lets us know that it had a hood just like the white chasubles worn at Easter: Cappa autem hujus indumenti (casulæ) ita dilatata erat atque consuta, ut solent in illis candidis fieri quæ per Paschalia festa sacerdotum humeris imponuntur.—*S. Gregorii Ep. Turon. Vitæ Pat.* ed. Ruinart, p. 1188.

[30] The dalmatic and tunicle found on St. Cuthberht's body were purple, as we before observed (tom. i, p. 393);

(the very same, in fact, as we now use[31]), but whether employed after the same ritual laws and on the same occasions, we have not at present the means of ascertaining. Certain is it, that between the Roman rubric now in force, and the old Sarum practice upon this point, a slight difference does exist; Rome herself never uses sky-blue,[32] England

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St. Beda mentions the hyacinthine colour of the tunicle (*Ibid.* p. 395); and purple is the hue of the chasuble worn by the Anglo-Saxon bishop of whom we gave the figure (p. 314, t. i).

[31] Theodore, bishop of London, bequeathed, c. A.D. 962, white, yellow, and red chasubles to different friends: And ic an Ðeodrad min wẏte messe hakele þe ic on pani bouthe. and al þat þer to bireð . . . and ic an Odgar þe gelewe messe hakele . . . and ic (an) Spratache þe rede Messe hakele ȝ al þ þe þer to bireð, etc. The will is given at length by Blomefield (*County of Norfolk*, vol. iii, p. 458). For the white, red, green, and black copes provided for the church of his minster, by the Anglo-Saxon abbot, Egelric, see note 55, before, p. 26 of this volume.

[32] In Spain, and at Naples, I observed sky-blue vestments are used on the festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Though at Rome light blue is never seen in the sanctuary, there was a time when it was employed as a substitute for black, or purple, as we learn from the *Ordo Romanus* XV, drawn up by Peter Amelio, who flourished c. A.D. 1393: and in cap. XXIV, *De die cinerum*, he tells us: Papa recedit, et vadit ad recipiendum paramenta sua in revestiario . . . nigri aut violacei indii coloris. Verumtamen modernis temporibus Romana ecclesia istis tribus utitur quasi pro uno colore (*ed.* Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. ii,

in Catholic times did;[33] Rome enjoins black for Good-Friday,[34] England prescribed red.[35]

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p. 462). Whether light blue vestments were here, in England, ever worn on holy days of the Blessed Virgin, we know not; white ones were, we are certain: Unum vestimentum album bonum de panno adaurato pro principalibus festis beatæ Mariæ, etc. Unum vestimentum album de camoca pro commemoratione beatæ Mariæ, etc.—*Registrum Capellæ Regiæ de Wyndesore*, A.D. 1385, *Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1363.

[33] In all our great lists of English vestments, blue, as distinguished from purple, is invariably to be found; in earlier times, "indicus", at a later period, "blodium", is the term employed to designate it. Thus, among the copes belonging, A.D. 1295, to St. Paul's cathedral, London, there were: Capa de purpureo sameto, capa de rubeo sameto, capa indici coloris, capa de baudekino indici coloris, etc. (*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, pp. 316, 317). So of the chasubles (*Ibid.* p. 323). The register of the royal chapel at Windsor Castle, A.D. 1385, mentions unus (coster) pannus magnus de velvetto purpureo, etc. Unus pannus de panno adaurato palliatus rubro et blodio coloribus, pro sepulchro Domini (*Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1363). York cathedral enumerated its copes under the different heads: Capæ rubeæ, blod, virides, purpureæ, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 1208); and at Lincoln, under "Casulæ et capæ blodei coloris", are set down all the vestments of a blue colour, as "a chesable of blew damask, etc., a cope of the same colour, a cope of cloth of gold, of bawdkin of blew colour", etc. (*Ibid.* p. 1284); while the "casulæ et capæ purpurei coloris", as a chesable of purpur velvet, a cope of purpur colour of gold, etc., are put by themselves (*Ibid.* p. 1283).

With regard to the substance and the colour of their lining, no exact rules seem to have been laid

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That truly good and munificent prelate, Bishop Wykeham, bequeathed to his church of Winchester his "new vestment of blue cloth, striped, and embroidered with lions of gold, with thirty copes of the same cloth, embroidered with the history of Jesse in gold" (*Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. Nicolas, t. ii, p. 768). What may have been the precise times for using blue we cannot tell, although we now and then catch such stray notices as the following: Casula de panno Tarsico, indici coloris . . . de dono Magistri J. de S. Claro, qui voluit ut cum illa celebretur in festis omnium Sanctorum et Sancti Erkenwaldi (*Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 323). Furthermore, among the "blue" vestments, or "vestimenta blodia", at York minster, there was a set for Advent and Septuagesima time: Una secta blod del baudkin pro Adventu et Septuagesima.—*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1209.

[34] The use of black on Good Friday is of some antiquity in the Roman ritual, though purple might be substituted for it: Colore nigro utitur feria sexta in Parascheve, in missis defunctorum, et in processionibus quas Romanus pontifex nudis pedibus facit. Sciendum tamen est, quod diebus quibus est usus nigri coloris, uti violaceo non est inconveniens.—*Ordo Romanus* XIV, *auct. J. Gaietano*, c. A.D. 1298, ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 291.

[35] Not only on this day, but all through Lent, the vestments were to be red, according to the Sarum rite. In a fine folio-sized Salisbury missal, written out towards the end of the fourteenth century, and now open before me, are to be found the following rubrics: Feria iiij. in capite ieiunii . . . episcopus vel eius decanus vel excellentior sacer-

down: the die of the stuff with which a vestment was lined in many instances differed, but, in some,

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dos indutus vestibus sacerdotalibus in capa serica rubea, etc. Dominica in ramis palmarum . . . sequitur benedictio florum et frondium a sacerdote induto capa serica rubea, etc. Feria v in cena Domini in primis fiat reconciliatio penitentium—sacerdos—indutus vestibus sacerdotalibus in capa serica rubea, etc. Feria vi, in die Parasceves dicta hora ix, accedat sacerdos ad altare indutus vestibus sacerdotalibus et casula rubea, etc. The same rubrics are in all the printed copies of the Missal and Processional, according to the use of Salisbury. Peterborough minster had twenty-seven "red albs for Passion week" (tom. i, p. 433). But England was not singular in this; the Ambrosian rite prescribed red albs for the same solemn season (*Ibid.*); and, until very lately, red was the colour of the sacred ornaments worn at the services of Passion time,—and on Good Friday especially,—in many great churches in France, at the cathedrals of Bourges, Sens, and Mans, as we learn from De Moléon (*Voyages Liturg.* pp. 144, 172, 222). For the same symbolic reason which induced St. Osmund to ordain red for the colour of the vestments all through Lent, was it that the plain, figureless, wooden cross, borne in procession during the same penitential season, used to be painted red here in England: Dominica ij, et omnibus dominicis per xl, excepta prima dominica, deferatur crux lignea rubei coloris depicta, sine ymagine crucifixi, etc.—*Crede Michi*, fol. ix, verso, Antwerpiæ, 1488.

In England, as abroad, yellow-coloured vestments were worn in some places. At Lincoln cathedral there was "a chesable of yellow silk, with an orphrey small, with a crucifix of gold, in red, upon the back, and two tunacles,

exactly agreed with that of the robe itself, and oftentimes the stuff was of silk; though less costly

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with three albes, and the whole apparel, with two copes of the same suit and colour, for Lent (*Dugdale's Mon. Anglic.* t. viii, p. 1285). In the same church, however, red was the colour for Good Friday, as a "chesable, with two tunacles of red, for Good Friday", are specifically noticed (*Ibid.* p. 1282), and "lined with white" (*Ibid.* p. 1290). No later than the year 1762, when the learned and zealous liturgist, Bellotte, published his work on the ritual followed at the cathedral of Laon, of which he was dean, the custom was, in that church, for the celebrant to wear a yellow vestment on Good Friday: Color autem croceus locum habet in ecclesia Laudunensi in solo præsanctificatorum officio, quod feria sexta in Parasceve quotannis consuevit celebrari (*Observationes ad Ritus Eccl. Laudunensis*, p. 771). Of the yellow garments worn by the celebrant and his assistants, at Angers cathedral, on Good Friday, we have already spoken in another part of this work (tom. i, p. 430); and as the Jews, up to the end of the last century, in several countries, were obliged, by law, to wear a yellow badge somewhere about their dress; and as the medieval painters almost always figured Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of our Lord, not only very ugly, but with yellow-reddish hair,—most likely the symbolic meaning assigned by Bellotte for the liturgic use of yellow, especially on Good Friday, is the true one, being: Adversus biliosos videlicet Judaïcæ gentis animos, qui pertinacibus improperiis in Christum salvatorem insiluerunt. Croceo namque, seu flavo colori bilis assimilatur, cujus sedes et imperium in præcordiis et visceribus Judæorum nedum iram sed et iræ furorem provocavit adversus Dominum et adversus Christum ejus.—*Ibid.* p. 772.

in its kind.[35a] All of the vestments now existing in this country from Catholic times, which the writer has met with, are invariably lined with a thick coarse kind of linen, either blue or red in colour.

SECTION XIX.

The ritual practice of

BLESSING VESTMENTS AND SAYING A PRAYER WHILE PUTTING ON EACH OF THEM,

demands a short notice.

Not only did the Anglo-Saxon[36] and the Salis-

[35a] Casula de Indico cendallo, lineata cum rubeo cendallo.—*Visit. in Thes. S. Pauli, Londini, ibid.* p. 323.

Casula de albo diaspro, lineata cum cendallo purpureo. —*Ibid.*

Casula de rubeo sameto lineata sendato rubeo.—*Ibid.* p. 322.

Some high personages wore their copes lined with costly fur, such as vair, or ermine: Ingressus ecclesiam (S. Pauli, Londinensis) . . . pontificalibus se induit, scilicet superpellicio, et desuper capa chorali pellibus variis furrata, et mitra.—*Matt. Paris,* p. 302, *Hist.* in anno 1237.

[36] Archbishop Ecgberht's Pontifical enumerates the vestments in one of the prayers used at the blessing of them: Exaudi propitius orationem nostram ut hanc planetam famuli tui ill. seu pudorem, albam ac stolam, cingulum, orariumque dextra tua sancta benedicere, sanctificare, consecrare, et purificare digneris. Quatenus hæc vestimenta

bury[37] rituals agree with one another, but also with the present and very ancient custom of the Church,

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ministris et levitis ac sacerdotibus tuis ad divinum cultum ornandum et explendum proficiant, sanctisque altaribus tuis mundi et ornati his sacris vestibus ministraturi irreprehensibiles in actu et dictu interius exteriusque appareant, etc. (*Pontificale Ecgberti*, apud Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* t. ii, lib. i, c. viii, art. xi, p. 34). "Pudorem" is evidently a blunder of the scribe's; the word should have been "poderem", as was observed before in this work (tom. i, p. 460.

[37] John de Burg, chancellor of Cambridge University, A.D. 1385, tells us that all vestments are to be blessed either by the bishop, or by one having a faculty to do so: Sine vestibus ab episcopo, vel altero potestatem habentem, benedictis celebrare non licet... Sex autem sunt hujusmodi vestimenta sacerdotalia .s. amictus, alba, cingulum, stola, manipulus, et planeta (*Pupilla Oculi, De his que sunt de ornatu*, etc. fol. xxiii, verso). The same is asserted by another English canonist, William Lyndwood (*Provinciale*, lib. i, tit. 6, nota *z*, p. 33); and in the Exeter Pontifical, p. 239, we see the forms of each of these benedictions. But besides this, the amount of fees paid on the occasion may not unfrequently be met with; for instance, to give a few out of many examples:—

At Bilibro, for halwyng of the pyx auter clothis, and a tonych, an aube, an amyte, and expens, 1s. 8d.—*Churchwardens' Accts. of Walberswick*, illustrat. etc. by Nichols, p. 185.

Pd. to Robt. when he browght the clothes from the bishope, y^{t} was halowyd.—*Id. of St. Michael's, York, ibid.* p. 314.

in the principle of always blessing after a solemn manner every vestment that had been offered and set aside for liturgical use within the sanctuary.

Moreover, while arraying his person in those garments for offering up the mystic sacrifice, the Anglo-Saxon priest said to himself in a low tone of voice, a little prayer as he put on each one of them, just as is done at present;[38] and although

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[38] *Ad Superhumeralem.*

Virtus summa dš cunctorum rector opimus,
Tu benedic ñrum quo nunc ornamur amictū,
Ut servire tibi valeamus corde pudico.

Ad Albam.

Vestibus angelicis induti rex pi&atis,
Poscimus[a] libare pium[b] libamen odoris,
Ad citius delenda male contagia mentis.

Ad Cingulum.

Scrutator cordis et caste mentis amator,
Tu lumbos precinge meos dš intime judex,
Mortificans pravos in casto corpore mores.[c]

Ad Stolam.

Colla jugo subdenda tuo dš alme sacrator,
Ad cuius dignum pra&iosa morte sepulchrum,
Virtus angelica consederat ordine munda.

Ad Casulam.

Spes a&erne[d] dš cunctorum certa salusque,
Tu memor esto mei toto te corde petentis,
Exequar ut dignus cælestis munia vitæ,
Dumque meis manibus trectator[e] mistica justus,[f]
Dispereat quicquid contraxit[g] ordo veterni.

nothing of this precise kind may be found in St. Osmund's treatise, or amid those liturgical codices of his ritual which have reached our hands, still we cannot bring ourselves to think that no such sort of prayer was said by our English priests, or that they merely recited the preparation for Mass, set forth in the Salisbury Missal, while vesting.

SECTION XX.

SPLENDOUR AND BEAUTY AT ALL PERIODS OF THIS COUNTRY'S VESTMENTS.

Now that we have reached the end of this

Ad Manipulum.

Qui super astra sedes qui regni sceptra tuearis[h]
Summus adesto ds michimet tua jussa sequenti
Adq.[i] levam[j] capiti conplexibus adhibe dextram,
Ut valeam casta tibi sistere perp&i vita.

—*Leofric's Missal*, Bod. 579, fol. 58; in another, but Anglo-Saxon hand. These same prayers, along with those at putting on the stockings, sandals, belt, tunicle, gloves, and ring, when a bishop pontificates, are given in the missal written out for Ratold, abbot of Corby, A.D. 986, and published by Menard in his *D. Gregorii Liber Sacramentorum*, p. 259, in a much more correct form than that of Leofric's missal.

[a] possimus (*Menard, ibid.* p. 260).
[b] pii
[c] gestus
[d] æterna (261).
[e] tractatur
[f] virtus
[g] contraxerat
[h] tueris
[i] ac
[j] levem

Some whole lines, too, are left out in Leofric's missal.

branch of our subject, well may we look back and point exultingly to those glowing examples of zeal shown by our forefathers in everything belonging to the decency and becoming splendours of God's public worship. Whether the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans, or the English ruled, it mattered little; our island home, the while Catholicism spread throughout its length and breadth, was quickened by the one same undying wish to make the house of God, the church—and the throne of Christ, the altar—more glorious than the houses of men, more dazzling with beauty than the thrones of earthly kings. The brightest of our national worthies, those who gave us our lofty birthright as freemen, the framers of our wisest, soundest laws, our incomparable Alfred, our holy Edward the Confessor, deemed it not beneath them to provide splendid vestments for the Church's ministers; and our royal Anglo-Saxon dames, our Ælfflæds, our Emmas, our Margarets, busied their minds and bethought themselves how they might procure the most beautiful sacerdotal garments for the service of the altar.

The vestments of the sacrificing priest, and the deacon and sub-deacon who ministered to him, were always of seemly, often of most beautiful and precious stuffs, curiously wrought with the figures of saints in needle-work,[39] at the same time that

[39] Kept in the chapter library of Durham cathedral, and

they were literally stiff with gold, and twinkling with star-like gems.[40] The daughters and the

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engraved for Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, is the stole which Ælfflaed, Edward the Elder's queen, got made for Frithestan, bishop of Winchester. This Anglo-Saxon liturgic ornament is all over-wrought with figures of the apostles.

[40] See note 11, p. 357, and note 12, p. 359, t. i, of this work.

Of the richness of Anglo-Saxon vestments we may catch some slight idea from the minute description furnished us by Reginald, the monk of Durham, of the dalmatic found, A.D. 1104, on the body of St. Cuthberht, and of which we spoke before: Cujus dalmaticæ fines extremos limbus deauratus, instar aurifraxii alicujus, undique perambiendo circumluit, qui præ auri copia, quæ in ejus fabrili textura inseritur, non facile, et tunc quidem cum aliquo stridore, reflectitur. Ita est volubilis ac replicabilis, at tamen pro spissitudine sua, sine alicujus adjutorio, iterum ad rigorem pristinum per se reductibilis. Qui ad mensuram palmæ virilis latitudine distenditur; cujus operis industria satis artificiosa fuisse videtur. . . . Circa collum vero ubi caput emittitur limbus aureus priore latior opere et precio etiam incomparatior esse videtur. (*Reginaldi, monachi Dunelmensis*, lib. *De Admirand.* B. Cuthberti, c. xlii, pp. 87, 88,—a most valuable publication of the Surtees Society.) In his notice of St. Oswald, archbishop of York in the year 971, the English Dominican friar Thomas Stubbs, writing A.D. 1360, tells us that the Anglo-Saxon saint's chasuble, a purple one, adorned with gold and precious stones, and still as beautiful as ever, was kept at the church of Beverley: Hujus infula purpurea et auro, gemmis ornata et prisca pulchritudine fulgida, Beverlacensi

wives of kings, and the great ones of this world, thought their leisure but too well filled up, and their wealth meetly bestowed, when they themselves plied, or made others ply, the needle in stringing their jewels on those sacerdotal garments they had worked from the correct and canonical, no less than beautiful, patterns which had been sketched for them by a Dunstan's hand.[41] Such was the skill with which these designs were executed, that our Anglo-Saxon ladies became famous abroad for their ability in needlework; and so highly was embroidery esteemed among themselves, that lands

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adhuc servatur ecclesia (*Acta Pontif. Eboracen.* auctore Th. Stubbs, ed. Twysden, t. ii, p. 1699). Misit rex (Willelmus Anglorum princeps) domino abbati et sacro conventui cappam pene auream totam, in qua vix nisi aurum apparet vel electrum vel margaritarum textus et gemmarum series; inferius autem undique tintinnabula resonantia, ipsaque aurea pendent; regina autem planetam plane dignissimam mittente et accipientibus quia sic rigidam, ut plicari non posset (*Vita S. Hugonis, Abb. Cluniac. AA. SS. Aprilis*, t. iii, p. 661). If not filched from some Anglo-Saxon minster, this cope and chasuble were wrought by Anglo-Saxon hands, and after Anglo-Saxon patterns.

[41] Nobilis quædam matrona, Ædelwyrm nuncupata, quodam momentulo vocavit eum (S. Dunstanum) familiari precatu ad se: quatenus ille ad divinum cultum, quamdam stolam sibi diversis formularum schomatibus ipse præpingeret, quam postea posset auro, gemmisque variando pompare.—*Vita S. Dunstani, a coævo*, apud *AA. SS.* Bollandi, *Maji*, t. iv, p. 350.

even were bestowed as a reward for teaching this womanly accomplishment.[42] Italy herself could show nothing to be compared with some of our vestments; and a cope which Ægelnoth, the Anglo-Saxon primate, had given, together with many other presents, to an archbishop of Benevento (who once came here to beg alms at Cnut's court for Apulia), long remained without an equal in that country; where Eadmer, years afterwards, found it still unmatched, and by far the most beautiful among all those like vestments worn by the bishops at a council presided over by the Roman pontiff at Benevento, whither this Englishman had gone, along with another archbishop of Canterbury, St. Anselm.[43]

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[42] Under Achelei, in Buckinghamshire, it is stated that Godric, the sheriff, granted to Aluuid half a hide of land so long as he should be sheriff, on condition that she should teach his daughter the art of embroidery.—*Description of the Public Records*, p. 10.

[43] Archiepiscopus Beneventanus cappâ præ omnibus qui conventui ipsi intererant preciosiori decoratus—concilio præsidebat. . . . Pontifex quippe sedis (Cantuariensis, regnante Cnutho) Ægelnothus nomine, inter reliqua quæ homini (archiepiscopo Beneventano) dedit, cappam illi valde preciosam aurifrigio ex omni parte ornatam dedit, quæ et illius ecclesiæ decori et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis futuris temporibus tantæ existeret testimonio et probationi. Mox celebrato concilio ubi Beneventanum ipsum adij et . . . cæpi de eadem cappa loqui et unde illam haberet quasi nescius interrogavi . . . eam ordine quo descripsi suam ecclesiam

In going through the life of that pearl amid women, Edmund Ironside's grand-daughter, and little niece to Edward the Confessor—our own Anglo-Saxon Margaret—we meet with many a touching scene. On becoming Malcolm king of Scotland's wife, this Anglo-Saxon princess wedded, as it were, that country to herself, and toiled so long and well to civilize its then rude people. If we stop awhile to behold the royal but unlettered husband, who doated, as well he might, upon her, taking up with religious reverence Margaret's prayer-book, and as he gazed upon its beautifully illuminated leaves and golden letters which he knew not how to spell, kiss it for his queen's sake (for it was almost hourly in her hands); still more shall we wish to linger in thought within that chamber of hers, where she watched the labours of her waiting-maidens and worked along with them; and where copes, and chasubles, and stoles, and altar frontals, might always be seen, some in the workers' hands, others already done, and most beautifully wrought by the needles of those high-born dames and worthful females whom Margaret the queen had drawn about her to spend their talents in embroidery upon the adornment of God's altar and the sacrificial garments of its ministers:[44] all the stars of Anglo-Saxon royalty

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ab ecclesia Cantuariensi adeptam esse declaravit.—*Eadmeri Hist. Novorum*, lib. ii, pp. 50, 51, ed. Seldeno.

[44] His rebus, id est quæ ad divinæ servitutis cultum

set well. But what was the practice of the latest, was the practice of the earliest Anglo-Saxons; and in the very act of affording us the symbolic meaning assigned by that people to the gold and purple of the sacerdotal garments, St. Beda lets us know how richly adorned must have been the robes of the sanctuary in his days.[45]

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pertinebant nunquam vacua erat illius (Margaritæ) camera; quæ, ut ita dicam, quædam cœlestis artificii videbatur esse officina. Ibi cappæ cantorum, casulæ, stolæ, altaris pallia, alia quoque vestimenta sacerdotalia et ecclesiæ semper videbantur ornamenta. Alia manu artificum parabantur, alia jam parata admiratione digna habebantur. His operibus feminæ deputabantur quæ natu nobiles, et sobriis moribus probabiles interesse reginæ obsequiis dignæ judicabantur.—*Vita S. Margaritæ Reginæ Scotiæ*, auct. Theodorico, *Monacho Dunelmensi, coævo*, apud *AA. SS. Bol. Junii*, t. ii, p. 329.

Another Anglo-Saxon lady, and one of high birth, celebrated for her skill in working with her needle, was Ælfswide, who, at the death of her mother, Leoflaed, went to live in holy retirement hard by Ely minster. Here, along with her waiting maids, she spent much time in embroidery, and upon the loom; and, besides other vestments, wrought, with her own hands, a very beautiful white chasuble: Filia eius Ælfeswida cum possessione de Steveschewordе æcclesiæ se tradens viri consortium aspernatur, illic jugiter professa est permanere; cui tradita est Coueneia locus monasterio vicinus ubi aurifrixoriæ et texturis secretius cum puellulis vacabat; quæ de proprio sumptu albam casulam suis manibus ipsa talis ingenii peritissima fecit.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 270.

Though not outstripped, the Anglo-Saxons were equalled by the Anglo-Normans and the English in a becoming zeal for the beauty of God's house and its servants' ministering array. Still, however, the higher merit belongs to the first, for Anglo-Saxon feelings suggested, and Anglo-Saxon fingers wrought those tasteful designs on the sacred garments[46] that, however rich they might be in their

[45] Cuncta autem fiunt de auro preciosisque coloribus: quia nihil vile ac sordidum in sacerdotis ore vel opere debet apparere, sed cuncta quæ agit, universa quæ loquitur, omnia quæ cogitat, et coram hominibus præclara et in conspectu interni arbitrii oportet esse gloriosa.—*Beda, De Tabernaculo*, lib. iii, c. iv, Op. tom. iv, p. 1245. De auro videlicet et ante omnia in habitu sacerdotis intellectus sapientiæ principaliter emicet. Cui autem hyacinthus, qui ærio colore resplendet, adiungitur; ut per omne quod intelligendo penetrat non ad favores infimos sed ad amorem cœlestium surgat . . . . Quamvis, ut superius sæpe dictum est, in purpureo colore possit ipsa effusio sanguinis pro Christo, vel diversarum tolerantia pressurarum intelligi. Ipsa enim est crux, quam sequentes Dominum, quotidie ferre jubemur. Unde merito talis species inter alios humero sacerdotis refulget ut ipsum ad patienda adversa semper doceat esse paratum.—*Beda, De Tabernaculo*, lib. iii, cap. iv, Op. tom. iv, p. 1246.

[46] If Anglo-Saxon Winchester had its school of illuminators, so had it its female artists in embroidery, for Matilda, the first William's queen, particularly mentions one of them,—the wife of Alderet,—as she specifies her bequest to the church of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, of a chasuble, being wrought by this Anglo-Saxon matron:

materials, were thought richer still from their beauty, and, as works of art, have earned for themselves the historian's notice: at the same time a sight of them always called forth the admiration and awakened the wishes of foreigners to possess them.[47] A change of kings brought no change in

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"Do," says Queen Matilda in her will, "Sanctæ Trinitati, Cadomi casulam quam apud Wintoniam operatur uxor Aldereti . . . atque aliud vestimentum quod operatur in Anglia," etc. (*Ex Cart. S. Trinit. Bib. Reg.* Paris, No. 5650), given at full length by the Abbé De la Rue in his interesting *Essais Historiques sur la Ville de Caen*, t. i, Preuves, No. 1. Anglo-Saxon nuns seem to have begun, from an early period, to bestow their time upon embroidery; for St. Aldhelm, A.D. 680, sings of them:

> Aurea dum exili Christo filia virgo acu dedicata
> Manu pallida torquet, æreo tum ego calamo
> Crinigeris pingo paginas. . . .

—*Epist. ad Acircium, Opp. S. Aldhelmi*, ed. Giles, p. 273.

[47] It is evident that, during former times, in England, vestments were admired, not merely for the costliness of their materials, but, from being looked upon as works of art, were tried by that standard, and appreciated accordingly. Enumerating all that Lanfranc did for his cathedral at Canterbury, William of Malmesbury tells us, in a marked manner, of the beautiful vestments which that primate bestowed upon his see: Jam vero ex abundanti est dicere quantum ibi ornamentorum congesserit, vel in palliis, et sacris vestibus, in quibus cedente materia manus artificum vincebat expensarum precium, vel in diversi coloribus picturis, vel lenocinante splendore fucorum ars spectabilis rapiebat animos, et pulchritudinis gratia sollicitabat oculos

the religion of our country, whose sons and daughters remained, under Norman rule, as warm-hearted and as able as ever in the holy work of decorating the altar; while our English women especially kept up that high reputation for embroidery bequeathed to them by their Anglo-Saxon mothers. Not

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ad lacunaria.—*Williel. Malmesburiensis, De Gestis Pontif. Anglorum*, lib. i, p. 118, ed. Savile, Londini, 1596.

Our Anglo-Saxon ladies, as we are told even by foreign writers, were famed for their skill in embroidering, in weaving stuffs of gold, and in plying the needle; nor were our men behind their countrywomen in works of the nicest handicraft: "Anglicæ nationes feminæ," says an old French writer, "multum acu et auri textura, egregie viri in omni valent artificio. (*Gesta Guillelmi a Guillelmo Pictavensi*, apud *Hist. Norman. Scriptores*, p. 211.) The first William and his Norman followers were not slow in availing themselves of this superiority in English art, for bettering their outward appearance; and such was the elegance of the dresses worn by the king and his court on their going over, for the first time, from England to Normandy, that the people there were quite dazzled with the splendour and beauty of the new attire, anything like which they had never before seen, as we learn from the same pen: Regis autem regiorumque satellitum indumenta spectantes intexta atque crustata auro, quæque antea viderant vilia æstimavere. (*Ibid.*) Another unexceptionable witness, the Frenchman Gotselin, who came over here during the reign of William the Norman, and was a monk at Canterbury, speaking of England and its people, says: His (margaritis) aurificum ingenia inter præclaros lapides aurea ecclesiæ adornant monilia. Ipsos etiam æquat aut

merely foreign bishops sought for, but the supreme pontiff himself asked to have vestments from this country;[48] and the admiration and praises bestowed

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superat aurea Anglicarum virginum textura, quæ regia et pontificalia insignia intincto murice, coccoque bis tincto flammantia splendidis unionibus et margaritis cum præcellentibus gemmis prætexto auro instellant et pretiosior stemmata artificii mixtura amplius irradiant.—*Vita S. Augustini, Ep. Cantuar.* apud Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* tom. i, p. 491.

[48] Vestments that had been wrought in England awakened such admiration abroad, that even the popes wrote hither, and begged to have them (*Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl.* p. 473, Parisiis, 1644); and in the inventory of vestments belonging to Pope Boniface VIII, mention is particularly made of such among them as had orphreys of English needlework: Una stola cum frixio Anglicano (*Garampi, Del Sigillo della Garfagnana,* p. 86); planeta, cum aurifrixio Anglicano (*ibid.* p. 119). When Robert, the abbot of St. Alban's, went to pay his respects to Nicholas Brekespere, who on being chosen pope took the name of Adrian IV, and filled the apostolic chair from A.D. 1154 till 1159, he carried along with him, to Benevento, many rich presents for the supreme pontiff, who was born, and had been bred, in one of the hamlets belonging, and near, to that far-famed abbey in Hertfordshire. But of these gifts, our exalted countryman would keep nothing besides the three very beautiful mitres, and the pair of sandals wrought by Christina, the abbess of Markgate, because they were so surprisingly handsome: Obtulit igitur abbas (Robertus) domino papæ, aurum, et argentum non minimi ponderis, et alia munera pretiosa. Mitras

by some of our native writers, upon the best of our home-wrought vestments[49] as real works of art, are fully borne out by the few remnants of those liturgical garments which have happily reached us[50] through so many perils from wanton destruction or ordinary decay.

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etiam, et sandalia operis mirifici, quæ domina Christina, priorissa de Markgate, diligentissime fecerat. Et cum omnia serenissimo vultu intuitus est dominus papa, omnia acceptavit, sed non accepit, præter mitras et sandalia, quia admirabilis operis.—*Matt. Paris, Vit. Abb. S. Albani*, p. 46.

[49] In recording the good deeds and pious munificence of Margaret Duchess of Clarence, A.D. 1429, the monk of St. Alban's passes the following encomium upon the beauty of the splendid set of vestments which she had bestowed upon that church: Obtulit etiam unum vestimentum integrum cum tribus capis choralibus de panno Tyssewys vulgariter nuncupato, in quibus auri pretiosa nobilitas, gemmarum pulchritudo, et curiosa manus artificis stuporem quendam inspectantium oculis repræsentant.—*Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. ii, p. 222.

[50] The oldest, as well as most beautiful, specimen of English embroidery I know of, is a cope which once belonged to the monastery of Syon, near Isleworth, but now the property of the Earl of Shrewsbury. It is quite a storied vestment. On the higher part of the back is the Assumption, or crowning of the Blessed Virgin Mary, beneath which is the Crucifixion, and lower down still, the archangel St. Michael overcoming the dragon; then high up on the right, the death of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Thomas putting his finger to the wound in our Lord's side, St. James the Less holding a club, another apostle

From the plentiful store which we have of written documents illustrating the period between St. Osmund's and Henry VIII's days, we learn that all through the existence of the Sarum Use, the materials employed in the making of our chasubles, copes, dalmatics, and tunicles, here in England, were at all times the most beautiful and the richest that our own handicraft might bring forth, or our traders could find out for the country in far-off lands: ciclatoun and baudekin and every other sort of cloth of gold, either plain or shot with colour; samit and satin; velvet, as soon as it was known; silks of all kinds—damasked, rayed, watered, clouded, or as the term then was, "marbled"; cloth of Tars, and fabrics from Saracenic

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with a book and spear, St. Paul, St. James the Greater, the burial of the Blessed Virgin Mary; high up on the left, St. Mary Magdalen and our Lord—*the touch me not*—St. Philip holding three loaves and a book, St. Bartholomew, St. Andrew, and ten cherubim, winged and standing on wheels, besides two figures, seemingly religious men, holding scrolls. The hood, which was hung by three loops, is lost; the orphreys are two broad bands of shields, charged with the armorial bearings of some of our most illustrious English families; and running all about the edge, at bottom, is a narrow band of emblazoned shields; but this, as well as the orphreys, is not so old as the body of the cope, which, by its style, seems to have been worked towards the second half of the thirteenth century, but before the end of our third Henry's reign.

looms, were each put into requisition as they came to hand.[51]

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[51] Capa de panno aureo qui vocatur ciclatoun (*Visit. in Thes. S. Pauli, Londin.* A.D. 1295, Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, p. 318). Capa de panno ad aurum scilicet Baudekin cum vestimento plenario de panno Yspaniæ ad aurum (*Wills, etc. of the Northern Counties of England*, part i, p. 6, Surtees Society). The celebrated Anthony Beck, who died bishop of Durham A.D. 1310, had in his chapel vestments of all the following costly and foreign stuffs: De rubeo panno tartarico brudatum cum archangelis deauratis .... de panno de satyn purpurei coloris cum archangelis argenteis brudatis ... de rubeo welveto ... de satyn indici coloris, cum flourdelies et aliis floribus et stellis intextis ... de panno Sarracenico ... de panno albi, indici et rubei coloris palliatis ... de panno aureo indici coloris, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 13). The "indicus color" in the above, is light blue.

At the burial of Ralph Lord Neville, of Raby, the church of Durham had given to it, for making vestments: ij pannos aureos unum rubeum cum floribus Sarracenicis intextis ... et ex alio panno nigro aureo cum ramis arborum et foliis et bestiis et albis rosis in finibus, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 27). Casula Hugonis de Orivalle de albo diaspro. (*Visit. in Thes. S. Pauli, Londin* A.D. 1295, apud Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 323.) Casula de quodam panno Tarsico cum rubeo panno diasperato auro, etc.—*Ibid.*

Casula de sameto radiato.—(*Ad Altare S. Michaelis, ibid.* p. 334.

Tunica de quodam panno marmoreo spisso, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 322.

Tunica de diaspro marmoreo spisso.—*Ibid.* p. 322.

Parura de serico marmoreo.—*Ibid.* p. 320.

Thus we see that the love for the beauty[52] of God's house, glowing as it did like a hallowed fire,

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Tunica et dalmatica de panno indico Tarsico besantato de auro.—*Ibid.* p. 322.

Tunica et dalmatica de quodam panno Tarsici coloris, tegulata cum besantiis et arboribus de aureo filo contextis. —*Ibid.*

Vestimentum, de albo panno de Tharse, de opere de Turky, etc.—*Ornamenta in Vestiar. Ecc. Christi Cantuariensis, Dart's Canterbury*, A.D. 1321, p. ix of Appendix.

Vestimentum . . . de panno de Inde samicto, etc.

Vestimentum de rubeo panno de Antioche, etc.

Vestimentum de Inde panno de Antioche, etc.—*Ibid.*

Capam meam de panno ad aurum scilicet Baudekin.—*Wills*, etc. part i, p. 6.

A cope of cloth of gold of bawdkin of blew colour.—*Inventory of Lincoln Cath. Dugdale's Mon.* vol. viii, p. 1284.

Four good copes of blew tishew.—*Ibid.*

A cope of green cloth of gold.—*Ibid.*

A black cope of cloth of silver.—*Ibid.* p. 1285.

[52] By no nation throughout Christendom was more done than by old Catholic England, for the splendour and majesty of public worship. Let any one read over the inventories of all those rich vestments and sacred vessels which once belonged to St. Paul's cathedral, London, to Canterbury, York, and Lincoln; let any one cast an eye upon those churches that yet stand, and on the beautiful ruins of those which once were, and he will be immediately convinced of this,—indeed, it is a remark of old writers, foreigners as well as natives. An English divine of the fifteenth century puts into the mouth of one of the speakers in his book, the words following: As men saye,

amid the Anglo-Saxons, was fed with the same earnest zeal by the Normans, and burned on with

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God is in no londe so well serued in holy churche as he is in this londe. For so many fayre churches, ne so good arraye in churches, ne so fayre seruice, as men say is in no lande, as it is in this londe.—*Dives and Pauper*, etc., *The Fyrste Command.* fol. 69, Berthelet, 1536.

Late in the same century, a Venetian gentleman, who had been in this country and looked well about him, was much struck with the splendour of our ecclesiastical ornaments; for he noticed that the wealth of the kingdom showed itself more particularly in adorning the house of God; for throughout the land there was not a parish church so lowly but what had its crosses, candlesticks, thuribles, basins, and bowls of silver; there was not a convent of begging friars, wherein the same things, as well as many others that would do for a cathedral, were not also of silver: Sopra tutto tale richezza si conosca espressamente nelli tesori ecclesiastici; imperò che in tutto quel regno non vi è parocchia si vile, dove non sieno croci, candellieri, turribili, bacili, e boccali d'argento; ne è si povero convento di mendicanti, dove non sieno tutte le medesime cose d'argento, e molti altri ornamenti pur d'argento convenienti ad una chiesa cathedrale (*A Relation of the Island of England*, printed for the Camden Society, p. 29). In the Bodleian library, Oxford, there is a curious manuscript, containing "The Declaration off Thaccompte of Sir John Williams, Knight, late Master and Treasurer of the Jewelles and Plate which were, the late Kinges Henrye the Eighth, and found in sundry monasteries, priories, cathedrals, churches, and colleges, at his Majestie's visitation", etc. This list of royal theft fills up a roll of parchment

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a steady, nay, increasing flame, from their coming over here, up to those sad mournful times under Henry VIII, Edward, and Elizabeth, when, in both senses, the light of the sanctuary was darkened—put out, as cathedral and parish church were rifled of their material splendours; but what must be wept for as immeasurably worse, as the brightsomness of the Gospel was dimmed in becoming shorn of many of its grace-working ordinances, and a new religion, framed by strangers, was brought over hither from a foreign land, and thrust by worldly-minded men upon our unwilling people instead of their olden national belief. A faithful few held fast to the truth; and notwithstanding fines and dungeons, the gibbet, and civil

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no less than fifty-four feet long; and the mere weight of the gold and silver is something enormous.

So far we have evidence of the material grandeur of our old Church; but of its high moral worth,—a thing of much greater importance,—we possess the weighty testimony of that bright light of the age and country he lived in, Sir Thomas More, who tells us of the priesthood of England: So dare I boldly say that the spiritualitie of England, and speciallye that parte in whiche ye fynde most fault, that is, to wit, that part which we commonlye cal the secular clergy, is, in learning and honest living, well able to matche and (saving the comparisons be odious, I would say further) farre able to over match number for number the spiritualtie of anye nacion christen.—*Dialogues*, book iii, p. 225, *Works*, London, 1557.

degradation, kept up the faith and belief of their Catholic forefathers in this country. Better days have come, the clouds are melting away, the Gospel of Christ is once more shedding its soft rays on men's hearts in England, and the voice of the Church makes itself heard amid a people that, Babel-like, talks with so many tongues in matters of religion. The age, the land in which we Catholics live, throw a duty on our shoulders: we, in our day, must do as did those who have gone before, be they Anglo-Saxon, Norman, or English: like them, we are guided through this to a better world by the same unerring teacher of God's truth —the one, holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church: like them must we light up the sanctuary of Christ with all the beauties which man's adoring heart and head can plan, and man's grateful hand can execute: to the Almighty is due the best of everything. A great experiment has been tried; in stripping the holy place of outward ornament, Protestantism leads on its hearers to strip the soul of an inward reverence[53] for holy things and holy

[53] Like the Catholic Church, Protestants of the Establishment deem the Eucharist the most holy among the institutions of Christ. Yet such were those soul-benumbing effects of the change in religion upon Englishmen, that very soon the establishment had, A.D. 1640, as we observed before (t. i, p. 179), to fence her communion-tables with rails, and thus hinder people from sitting upon them in service-time, as well as to "preserve them from such or

institutions: it is therefore the duty of Catholicism to strive and awaken among men those olden and better feelings towards the ordinances of heaven, by making the adornments of the altar, and the sacrificial garments of its ministers, bespeak the deepest reverence for, whilst they tell of those awful mysteries wrought upon it.

Let us hope that such of our Catholic ladies as have the time, the talents, and the means, may soon begin to follow that good example set them by their high-born Anglo-Saxon, their Norman, and their later English sisters in the faith. Then, indeed, the never-ending working of fire-screens and slippers will sometimes, at least, give way to a

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worse profanation". This canon was enacted not without reason, for among many other documents of a like kind, the Visitation Books in the registry of Durham afford us several instances of such a disrespect: A.D. 1578. Nicholas Palmer pr., detected. He ministered in a milke boule.

A.D. 1610. Rowland Scot pr., for quarrellinge and drawing his dagger on Io. Iackson, and for appointing combat in the church at the communion-table (*St. Cuthbert*, etc. by James Raine, M.A. p. 63). This respectable Protestant minister adds of his own: "This is worse than the story of the men, who, in the recollection of persons still alive, or not long since dead, retired from an ale-house in the village, and finished their game of whist upon this selfsame table" (*ibid.*). Many such instances might be collected. Some few years ago, a party of men, during the wakes at the village of Alton, Staffordshire, brought the communion-table out of the parish church, and played at cards upon it in the middle of the street.

stole, or maniple, or the figured orphrey for a cope, or a chasuble, if not to a pall, storied with passages from Holy Writ, or the life of a patron saint, to be hung during festivals upon the chancel's walls, or before the altar as a frontal. Then, too, instead of seeing our Catholic ladies follow their own ideas of millinery prettiness, with regard to the shapes and ornament of Church vestments, we shall find them consulting some competent authority for the true old forms and the traditional symbolism of the sacred garments.

But to be able, like a St. Dunstan, to furnish the proper designs when asked for, it is necessary that the clergy be well taught our national ecclesiastical antiquities. Such studies, however, have unhappily been quite overlooked in the training of our youth who are being brought up for the priesthood; and yet the elements of these studies are to be found in almost every village throughout the kingdom, and may be searched after without the slightest hindrance to other avocations. How can the afternoon of a college play-day be more healthfully spent than in a cheerful walk over a beautiful country, while going to look at, inside and out, some venerable parish church? Even the lay-boy will find much to delight, much to uplift, much to enoble, much to edify his young mind, and teach him to value his country, and love his religion more. But it is to the student in divinity more especially that our glorious old Catholic cathedrals, our beautiful old Catholic parish churches will be sermons in stones, eloquent treatises on the sacraments and sacrifice of his olden faith, loud-speaking witnesses to what his forefathers believed, and his forerunners in the sacerdotal office taught for ages upwards to the sad time of England's change of religion, began by Henry VIII and finished by Elizabeth. From out of them may be drawn arguments which go home

at once to the heart and understanding of every Englishman.

St. Dunstan was not the only churchman artist: most of the architects who built, and the painters who ornamented the churches of this island, were clergymen; and when freemasonry was an association existing for no other than artistic purposes, and was not only harmless but holy in its tendencies, and sanctioned by the Church, the highest order in it consisted exclusively of priests.

Now, though it be not wished to make our clergy working artists, still it is much to be desired, nay, it is in a manner needful that they should, from their knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities, be able to direct artists in the building and the embellishment of our churches; for without the guidance of a well-informed ecclesiastic, no layman, however talented and clever he may be, can at all hope to build churches without faults, or decorate and fit them up without some departure from the traditions and the symbolism which so truthfully tell the belief of by-gone ages. To do either, it is necessary to have a more thorough acquaintance with the canons of councils and ecclesiastical literature in general, than the education or the leisure of any layman artist can allow him to make; and for the last three hundred years, the architects, painters, and sculptors, who have best succeeded in the ecclesiastical correctness of their various productions, have always been those who most enjoyed the advantage of having the private advice of some learned clerical and communicative friend.

CHAPTER VII.

If our Anglo-Saxon forefathers' love towards their Maker burned forth with so much brightness, and showed itself by the way in which they lit up the house of God with beauty, and arrayed the ministers of his altar with magnificent vestments, the love they bore to their fellow-man shone out no less sweetly through those many holy practices of religion by which they strove to help him in his ghostly wants, and more especially to shorten the punishment undergone by his soul in the next world, for his sins he committed whilst in this. As

THE ANGLO-SAXONS HELD WITH SO MUCH STEADFASTNESS BY THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY,

no wonder they afforded, by their devotional and religious exercises, such strong demonstration of this article of their Catholic belief. They were taught to remember that, without the slightest doubt, the very instant after death, the soul of each one, whether good or bad, was individually judged.[54] Furthermore, they believed that "some,

[54] Futurum quoque judicium esse bonis et malis, statim post hujus vitæ terminum nulli Catholicorum dubium est

who on account of good works have been preordained to the lot of the elect, but who, because of some bad deeds, stained with which they went forth out of the body, are, after death, seized upon by the flames of the purgatorial fire, to be severely chastised, and either are being cleansed, until the day of judgment, from the filth of their blemishes by this kind of long trial; or, being set free from punishment by the prayers, the alms-deeds, the fasts, the tears of faithful friends, and by the oblations of the healing sacrifice, they get, undoubtedly before that time, to the rest of the blessed".[55] This exposi-

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(*S. Bonifacii Sermo* i, *De Fide recta*, t. ii, p. 58, *Op.* ed. Giles). Like to St. Boniface's was the doctrine of that glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church, St. Beda, who, at his dying moments, repeated in his native tongue some lines in poetry, the meaning of which we learn from the Latin translation of his scholar Cuthberht, who was present at the time, and renders them thus: Ante necessarium exitum prudentior quam opus fuerit nemo existit ad cogitandum; videlicet, antequam hic proficiscatur anima, quid boni vel mali egerit, qualiter post exitum judicanda fuerit (*Cuthuuino Cuthberht*, ed. Stevenson, *Ven. Bedæ Hist. Ecc.* Introduction, p. xvi). Those Protestants who take up the new opinion broached by Burnet, in his posthumous work *De Statu Mortuorum*, of course will disagree with the Catholic teaching of old St. Beda and St. Boniface. It is a curious fact that St. Boniface anathematized Burnet's heterodoxy a thousand years before it was put forth.

[55] At vero nonnulli propter bona quidem opera ad electorum sortem præordinati, sed propter mala aliqua, quibus

tion of the belief of his countrymen in the doctrine of purgatory, put forth by one of the most learned writers of the age—one of the greatest Anglo-Saxon saints—one of the highest worthies of this land, is well illustrated by what Drythelm saw during a trance, an account of which this same Venerable Beda has set down at full length in his *Ecclesiastical History*. In telling how, in the province of the Northumbrians, a man, whose name was Drythelm, came to life again, and spoke of the many things to be dreaded, and the many to be wished for, which he had seen, St. Beda says, that Drythelm's angel guardian who had led him to

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polluti de corpore exierunt, post mortem severe castigandi excipiuntur flammis ignis purgatorii, et vel usque ad diem judicii longa hujus examinatione a vitiorum sorde mundantur; vel certe prius amicorum fidelium precibus, eleemosyni, jejuniis, fletibus, hostiæ salutaris oblationibus absoluti pœnis et ipsi ad beatorum perveniunt requiem (*S. Bedæ, Hom.* ed. Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* t. v, p. 326). The heavy stress which St. Beda, in this passage, lays upon the merit of good works, should not be overlooked. Alcuin's words, in upholding the Catholic belief in purgatory, are quite as strong as St. Beda's; for this second glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church truly says: Sunt ergo quidam justi minutis quibusdam peccatis obnoxii, quia ædificaverunt supra fundamentum, quod est Christus, fœnum, ligna, stipulas quæ illius ignis (purgatorii) ardore purgantur, a quibus mundati, æternæ felicitatis digni efficientur gloria.—*Alcuinus De Fide Trinitatis*, lib. iii, c. xxi, *Op.* tom. i, p. 736, ed. Frobenio.

behold the various regions of the other world, before sending him back to this, asked thus,— "Knowest thou what all those things are which thou hast seen?" "No," answered Drythelm: then said the angel, "that valley which thou didst behold so frightful for its scorching flames and stiffening cold, is that place wherein are tried and punished the souls of those who, putting off the confession and amendment of their evil deeds, at last, on the very point of death, betake themselves to penance, and so go forth out of the flesh; but who nevertheless, since they had confession and penance even at their death, are all to reach the kingdom of heaven at the day of doom. But the prayers, the alms-deeds, the fasts of the living, and more especially the celebration of Masses, help many of them in such a way, that they are set free even before that day of judgment. That flame-belching and stinking pit which thou sawest, is the mouth itself of hell, into which whosoever but once shall have fallen, will never thence be liberated for all eternity. That flowery place, wherein thou didst see that most beautiful band of young folks so bright and gladsome, is the one wherein are received the souls of such as go indeed out of the body in good works, not, however, of such perfection as to merit to be immediately let into the kingdom of heaven, but who, however, at the day of judgment will all enter into the vision of Christ and the joys of the heavenly kingdom. But who-

soever are perfect in every word, deed, and thought, as soon as they leave the body, go immediately into the kingdom of heaven, in the neighbourhood whereof is that place where thou didst catch the sound of mellow song, together with the odour of sweetness and a brilliancy of light".[56]

The creed of any people will always make its impress upon their customs; and in no place is this truth better shown than in this country. A strong belief of their's in the existence of a middle state, for the cleansing of such souls as died under the guilt of the less heinous kinds of sin, or had not been sufficiently afflicted here for those greater faults of which the everlasting punishment hereafter had been mercifully forgiven, led all our forefathers to "holy and wholesom thoughts": hence do we behold why

THE ANGLO-SAXONS FOLLOWED MANY RELIGIOUS PRACTICES GROUNDED ON THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY.

1. Most anxious were the living, to whatever rank of society they belonged, to get from their friends, among the clergy in particular, a promise that after death their souls should be prayed for: warlike kings and learned clerks equally sought to have themselves, when dead, remembered in the Mass as often as it was offered up by their sacer-

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[56] Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v, cap. xii.

dotal survivors;[57] and the sick man's last words often were that he might not be forgotten over that holy sacrifice.[58]

2. What they so earnestly wished to have done for themselves after death, they never, while they lived, missed doing in behalf of others; and whenever kinsman, or friend, or even their lowliest hind

[57] Sed, et me defuncto, pro redemtione animæ meæ, quasi familiaris et vernaculi vestri, orare, et missas facere, et nomen meum inter vestra scribere dignemini. Such are the words of St. Beda, which he addresses "Patri Eadfrido, sed et omni congregationi fratrum, qui in Lindisfarnensi insula Christo deserviunt," in his Preface to the *Life of St. Cuthberht* (*Ven. Bedæ, Opera Hist. Minora*, ed. Stevenson, p. 47). Many other instances might be brought: Ethelbert king of Kent thus asks for his soul, when he shall be dead, the prayers of St. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon apostle of Germany:—Totis visceribus mentis efflagito, ut .... multis nos ac crebris orationum tuarum suffragiis adjuvare digneris .... tam dum adhuc esse me in hac mortali carne audias, quam etiam post obitum meum, &c.—Epist. lxxxiii. Archiep. Bonifacio Ethilbertus rex Cantiæ, *S. Bonifacii Op.* ed. Giles, t. i, p. 177.

[58] While reading the death-scene of St. Beda, sketched for and sent to an absent schoolfellow by Cuthberht, a faithful and loving disciple of that great master, every one will be touched with its holiness, as well as with the beautiful and feeling strokes of its writer, who tells us, among other things, of the dying saint: allocutus est unumquemque, monens et obsecrans pro eo Missas celebrare, et orationes diligenter facere; quod illi libenter spoponderunt.—Ed. Stevenson, *Ven. Bedæ, Hist. Ecc.* introduction, p. xviii.

was taken out of this world, they immediately besought Almighty God, and called upon all their neighbours far and wide to beseech Him, for mercy and forgiveness on the poor soul so lately flown from earth and carried to His awful doom:[59] they hied them to the church, and bade the name of him or her just dead to be whispered in the ear of the priest as he stood sacrificing at the altar, that for the departed an especial mention might be made over the holy victim.[60]

If nothing more remained in illustration of the custom among the Anglo-Saxons of praying for the dead, but the beautiful story told by St. Beda of the two brothers, Imma the soldier and Tunna the

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[59] Similiter deposco, ut sanctarum missarum oblationes offerre digneris pro anima mei propinqui, qui mihi præ cæteris charus erat.—Bugga Bonifacio, *S. Bonifacii Opera*, ed. Giles, Londini, 1844, p. 28, t. i.

[60] "Precor," inquit, "domine mi episcope, memineris ad Missas Harduualdi mei (hoc enim viro erat nomen), qui heri cadendo de arbore defunctus est." Such was the petition of the abbess Ælflaede to St. Cuthberht (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. xxxiv, p. 113, ed. Stevenson, *Op. Minor. Bedæ*. The same circumstance is mentioned by a somewhat older but unknown writer, more minutely thus: Illa (abbatissa Elfleda) vero statim ad episcopum sanctum (Cuthbertum) cucurrit dedicantique eo die ibi ecclesiam, et missam cantantibus tunc in eo loco ubi dicitur, "Memento, Domine, famulorum" anhelans in basilicam pervenit, nomenque fratris quod dicebatur Hadpuald indicavit.—*Vita S. Cuthberti, Auct. Anon.* ed. Stevenson, p. 281.

priest, it would have been quite enough in itself to show us what was the teaching of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the devotional practice of her people concerning purgatory. Imma tells the nobleman who kept him prisoner: "I have a brother a priest in my own province, and I know that, thinking me to be killed, he often says Mass for me; and were I in the other life, my soul would be loosened from punishment through his intercession." Tunna, it must not be forgotten, was, as a priest, ordained "to make oblations for the living and the dead." [61]

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[61] Habebat enim (juvenis Imma) germanum fratrem, cui nomen erat Tunna, presbyterum et abbatem monasterii qui cum eum in pugna peremtum audiret, venit quærere si forte corpus ejus invenire posset, inventumque alium illi per omnia simillimum, putavit ipsum esse, quem ad monasterium suum deferens honorifice sepelivit et pro absolutione animæ ejus sæpius missas facere curavit. Quarum celebratione factum est quod dixi, ut nullus eum posset vincire, quin continuo solveretur. Interea comes, qui eum tenebat, mirari et interrogare cœpit quare ligari non posset, an forte literas solutorias, de qualibus fabulæ ferunt, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset. At ille respondit, nihil se talium artium nosse; "sed habeo fratrem," inquit, "presbyterum in mea provincia, et scio quia ille me interfectum putans pro me missas crebras facit; et si nunc in alia vita essem, ibi anima mea per intercessiones ejus solveretur a pœnis.

A tertia autem hora, quando missæ fieri solebant, sæpissime vincula solvebantur.

Qui post hæc patriam reversus atque ad suum fratrem

3. In all monasteries, whenever any one belonging to it died, the death-knell was rung; and

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perveniens, replicavit ex ordine cuncta, quæ sibi adversa, quæve in adversis solatia provenissent; cognovitque, referente illo, illis maxime temporibus sua fuisse vincula soluta, quibus pro se missarum fuerant celebrata sollemnia. Sed et alia, quæ periclitanti ei commoda contigissent et prospera, per intercessionem fraternam et oblationem hostiæ salutaris cœlitus sibi fuisse donata intellexit. Multique hæc a præfato viro audientes accensi sunt in fide ac devotione pietatis ad orandum, vel ad eleemosynas faciendas, vel ad offerendas Domino victimas sacræ oblationis, pro ereptione suorum, qui de seculo migraverant; intellexerunt enim quia sacrificium salutare ad redemtionem valeret et animæ et corporis sempiternam (*Beda, Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, cap. xxii, pp. 299, 300, ed. Stevenson). The writer of the Anglo-Saxon homilies, Ælfric, brings forth the whole of this passage in once of his discourses, headed "a hortatory sermon on the efficacy of the holy Mass," which he thus begins: We read in many places in holy writings that the holy mass greatly benefits both the living and the dead, as Beda the wise doctor has written in the *Historia Anglorum* of a certain thane.—*Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Thorpe, t. ii, p. 357.

Alcuin mentions the same miracle, in the following verses:

Est mihi sed frater devoti pectoris, inquit,
Quem scio, quod Christo pro me solemnia cantat,
Missarum, quoniam me putat esse peremptum.
Et si forte animam nunc altera vita teneret,
Illius illa preces propter Missasque frequentes
Libera, credo, foret, pœnasque evaderet omnes.

—*Poema de Pont. et Sanctis Ecc. Eboracensis*, *Op.* t. ii, p. 250, ed. Frobenio.

though it were the depth of night, no sooner heard they that well-known bell swinging forth slowly and sadly its mournful sounds, than all the inmates of that house arose and knelt down by their bedsides, or hurried to the church and prayed for the soul of the brother or sister that moment gone. In telling how Begu, within the minchery at Hackness, was miraculously given to know of St. Hilda's death, miles away, at Whitby, Venerable Beda says: "asleep in the sisters' dormitory, that nun heard on a sudden upon the air the well-known sound of that bell by which they were accustomed to be wakened and called to prayers when any of them was summoned out of this world. Getting up immediately, she ran, much frightened, to Frigyth, the virgin who was then set over the monastery instead of an abbess, and wailing and weeping, and with many a long-drawn sigh, told her that the mother of them all—Hilda the abbess—had departed this life. When Frigyth heard this, she aroused all the sisterhood, and calling them to church, bade them to say prayers and psalms for their mother's soul; and after they had spent the remainder of the night in doing so, there came, at the earliest dawn, some of the brotherhood from the place whereat she died, and told them of her decease."[62] Such a pious exercise was not con-

[62] Hæc (Begu) tunc in dormitorio sororum pausans audivit subito in aëre notum campanæ sonum, quo ad ora-

fined to religious houses, for the council of Calcuth, or Chalk-hythe, ordained that at a bishop's death, throughout every diocess each church should toll its bell and call together all God's servants to sing thirty psalms for the soul of the departed.[63]

Of all those religious rites which the Anglo-Saxon Church bade her ministers to do for the dying and the dead, we still have the whole course laid down in that precious liturgical codex which once belonged to bishop Leofric. From this manuscript we learn, that no sooner did those about the sick man find he was reaching his end in this world, than the holy Eucharist was brought and

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tiones excitari vel convocari solebant, cum quis eorum de seculo fuisset evocatus .... Statimque exsurgens nimio timore perterrita cucurrit ad virginem, quæ tunc monasterio abbatissæ vice præfuit, cui nomen erat Frigyd, fletuque ac lacrimis multum perfusa ac suspiria longa trahens nunciavit matrem illarum omnium Hild abbatissam jam migrasse de seculo .... Quod cum illa audisset suscitavit cunctas sorores, et in ecclesiam convocatas orationibus ac psalmis pro anima matris operam dare monuit. Quod cum residuo noctis tempore diligenter agerent, venerunt primo diluculo fratres, qui ejus obitum nunciarent, a loco ubi defuncta est.—*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, cap. xxiii.

[63] Jubetur .... ut quandocunque aliquis ex numero episcoporum migraverit de seculo .... statim per singulas parochias 'in singulis quibusque ecclesiis, pulsato signo, omnis famulorum Dei coetus ad basilicam conveniat, ibique pariter xxx psalmos pro defuncti anima decantent.—*Synodus Calchuthensis*, cap. x, Wilkins *Conc.* t. i, p. 171.

given to him, though he were not fasting, but had already eaten food that day. After his communion, either priests or deacons read to him all those passages in the Gospels which tell of our Lord's bitter throes and yielding up the ghost upon the hard bed of the cross. Just before, however, the dying man breathed his last, he was laid upon sackcloth, spread for that purpose upon the floor, and strewed with ashes:[64] then were sung the seven

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[64] Thus died stretched upon the floor of his cell the holy St. Beda: Et sic in pavimento suæ casulæ decantans, "Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto," cum Spiritum Sanctum nominasset, spiritum e corpore exhalavit ultimum; et sic regna migravit ad cœlestia (*Epist. Cuthberhti Cuthuuino*, ed. Stevenson, *Hist. Eccl.* Introduction, p. xviii). After the coming of the Normans, the same custom was still kept up in this country, for Archbishop Lanfranc thus speaks of it: ægro in agonia posito, et jam si ita visum fuerit morituro, famulus qui ad hoc deputatus est cilicium expandat, et supra illud ad mensuram longitudinis et latitudinis quam ipsum cilicium habet, signum crucis de cineribus faciat, morientemque fratrem desuper ponat (*Decreta Lanfranci pro Ord. Bened.* cap. xxiv. ed. Reynero, App. p. 249). The miraculous cure, during Archbishop Lanfranc's primacy, of Edward, (who, being archdeacon of London, took the Benedictine habit at Canterbury) gives an apt illustration of the Anglo-Saxon ritual for the dying: Ille juxta quod putabatur, in suprema hora constitutus, ad terram super cilicium positus est. Accurrentes fratres septem psalmos pœnitentiales et letanias pro obitu ejus ex more decantabant. Igitur in letaniis cum dicerent, *S. Dun-*

penitential psalms and the litany, wherein which, after all the saints' names had been gone through,

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stane intercede pro anima ejus, et id ipsum pro spe subventionis quam in ipso dulcius habent, iterarent; cœpit æger pene defunctus respirare, et in circumstantes pio intuitu oculos dirigere, &c. (*Mirac. S. Dunstani,* ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* t. vii, p. 693). The sack-cloth and ashes upon which the dying used to be laid, are thus noticed just after the form for blessing the latter, in a Roman "Ordo," very likely written out in the eleventh century: Benedictio cineris. Deus pietatis, &c. Tunc extendatur in terra cilicium, et de cinere benedicto super illud a sacerdote fiat crux, et aquæ benedictæ aspersio; et super illud ponatur infirmus: et similiter fiat crux et aspersio super pectus illius, et dicat ei sic: "Recordare quia cinis es et in cinerem reverteris." Ait rursus ei sacerdos: "Placent tibi cinis et cilicium ad testimonium pœnitentiæ tuæ ante Dominum in die judicii?" Resp. "Placent." (*Ordo Romanus X,* ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. ii, p. 115. Gervin, who died abbot of St. Riquier's in Ponthieu, A.D. 1074, when about to expire, was carried into the church, and breathed his last stretched upon sack-cloth before an altar: manu propria innuit eis ut ferretur in ecclesiam. At fratres eum accipientes sustulerunt, et strato cilicio ante sancti Joannis Baptistæ, quod vicinum erat, altare posuerunt, &c. (*Chron. Centulen.* lib. iv, cap. xxxv, ed. D'Achery, *Spicil.* t. ii, p. 353); thus, too, St. Louis king of France yielded up his soul to God: "brought unto saynt Denys, where he lyinge a season sycke, and knewe that the owre of deth was nere, cōmaunded suche as were about hym y^{t} they shulde spredde a tapette upon the grounde, and than laye hym upon the sayde tapet, and upon hym to be made a crosse of asshes,

immediately was said that beautiful anthem, *Subvenite*—"Come to his help ye saints of God, meet him all ye angels of the Lord, taking his soul and bearing it unto the presence of the Most High."[65]

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which all was doon accordynge to his cōmandement, and there he so lay tyll he dyed.—*Fabyan's New Chronicles of England*, &c. p. 263, ed. Ellis, London, 1811.

[65] *Incipit ordo in agenda mortuorum.*

Mox autem ut eum viderint ad extremum propinquare communicandus est de sacrificio sc̄o etiam si commedisset ipsa die quia communio erit ei defensor et adiutor in resurrectione iustorum et ipsa eum resuscitabit. Post communionem susceptam, legendæ sunt passiones dominicæ ante corpus infirmi seu a presbiteris, seu a diaconibus usque egrediatur anima de corpore. Primitus enim ut anima de corpore egressa fuerit, ponatur super cilicium et canantur (sic) VII psalmi pœnitentiales, et agenda est lætania prout tempus fuerit. Finitis autem sc̄orum nominibus, mox incipiatur A. "Subvenite" (*Leofric's Missal*, Bod. 579, fol. 246). For this and other ritual and devotional purposes, those parts of the Gospels descriptive of the passion and death of our Redeemer, were written out so as to form a little book by themselves. Of such codices belonging to the Anglo-Saxon epoch a few are still to be found in our libraries: among the literary treasures of the British Museum there is "Passio Christi, litteris Saxonicis, cent. viii", marked, *Harley*, 2966. This custom was kept up, both here and abroad, until a very late period, and most books of Hours, in manuscript or printed, have the "Passio Domini nostri Jehu Christi": in a small manuscript book of Hours, written and illuminated in France quite at the end of the fifteenth century, and in my possession, and in

When the lifeless body had been washed and the prayers for that part of the ceremony been said,[66] it was clad in seemly garments, bespeaking the rank and condition in this world of the individual,[67] and then carried with religious solemnity to

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the Salisbury *Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie*, printed A.D. 1526, of which a fine copy now lies before me, the "Passion" is according to St. John: there are, however, examples in the sixteenth, of the old collection of all the evangelists' history of it, and such is the manuscript "Passio Christi, cent. xvi", in the Museum, *Harley*, 2978.

[66] Orationes quando incipiunt corpus lavare.—*Leofric's Missal*, Bod. 579, fol. 247, b.

[67] A bishop, by the Anglo-Saxon ritual, was arrayed for burial in all his episcopal sacrificial ornaments: upon his breast was placed a small particle of the blessed Eucharist, folded up in a corporal, or enclosed in a chalice: the particle most likely had been first steeped for a short time in the sacred blood at Mass. After being wrapped well up within a winding-sheet, or in a cere-cloth, the body was laid in a stone coffin, with a hollow in the upper end scooped out, so that the head might fit into it. An unknown, but an older writer than St. Beda, thus describes the burial of the great St. Cuthberht: Toto corpore lavato, capite sudario circumdato, oblatis super sanctum pectus positis, vestimenta sacerdotalia indutus, in obviam Christi calceamentis suis præparatis, in sindone cerata curatus, animam habens cum Christo gaudentem, corpus incorruptibile, requiescens et quasi dormiens in sepulchro lapideo, honorabiliter in basilica deposuerunt (*Vita S. Cuthberti, auctore anonymo*, ed. Stevenson, *Ven. Bedæ, Opera Hist. minora*, p. 281). Eleven years afterwards, the grave was opened,

church :[68] on the road thither, such as went with it sang anthems, but in particular the psalm *Mise-*

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and from off the feet of the saint were taken the "ficones novi quibus calceatus est" (*ibid.* p. 282). St. Cuthberht himself thus expresses his own wishes regarding his burial: Cum autem Deus susceperit animam meam, sepelite me in hac mansione juxta oratorium meum ad meridiem, contra orientalem plagam sanctæ crucis, quam ibidem erexi. Est autem ad aquilonalem ejusdem oratorii partem sarcophagum terræ cespite abditum, quod olim mihi Cudda venerabilis abbas donavit. In hoc meum corpus reponite, involventes in sidone, quam invenietis istic (*Vita S. Cuthbercti auct. S. Beda*, ed. Stevenson, p. 118). To this day the villagers in most parishes throughout England, feel a strong dislike to have any of their kindred buried on the north side of the church; they still wish to have their grave on the south side: as he tells us, in his *Hist. of Hawsted*, p. 38, Sir John Cullum tried, but all in vain, c. A.D. 1762, to get the people of that parish to bury their friends on the north side.

Of the vestments found upon St. Cuthberht's body when his grave was again explored, A.D. 1104, a description from Reginald may be seen t. i. p. 393, of this work. Besides this, an unknown writer who has left an account of St. Cuthberht's body being removed into a new shrine A.D. 1054, gives us a good description of the beautiful Anglo-Saxon chalice which they found on opening the saint's coffin: Sed et alia sicut fuerant, inventa cum illo recondiderunt .... et quæ sacerdotem decebant altare videlicet argenteum, corporalia cum patina, etiam calicem parvum quidem, sed materia et opere pretiosum cuius inferior pars figuram leonis ex auro purissimo habens, gestat dorso lapi-

rere;[60] and there was it left until Mass could be offered up, and those among the dead man's friends

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dem onichinum arte pulcherrima cavatum, quique ex studio artificis ita inhæret leoni, ut manu facile possit in gyrum verti, nec tamen inde auferri (*Hist. Translationis S. Cuthberti, AA. SS. Martii*, t. iii. p. 140). Such being the high state of the silversmith's craft among the Anglo-Saxons, no wonder their workmen in the precious metals should have been sought for by Italy to make her shrines and decorate her altars, as we have shown elsewhere in these pages, t. i. p. 288.

Besides this instance of St. Cuthberht's, we have that of another Anglo-Saxon bishop's body clad in sacred vestments, found in Dorchester church, and supposed to be St. Birinus: Corpus episcopi integrum cum duplici stola, et infula rubra e panno serico, atque cum cruce e metallo confecta pectori eius imposita: denique cum calice ad umbilicum eius posito.

On opening the grave again shortly afterwards, the same writer tells us: Inventus quoque est annulus, itemque crux plumbea super pectus ejus, calix parvus, particulæ vestimentorum eius, duæ stolæ, sed non integræ. Inventa est etiam crumena quædam serica super pectus eius, itemque ex una parte auro contexta: in qua omnes asserebant pallam suprà memoratam cum Christi corpore.—*Vita S. Birini ab auctore anonymo post* A.D. 1227 *scripta, apud* Surium, *Decembris die tertia*, p. 687.

Not only bishops, but others who had given themselves to God in this world by following a religious life, were clothed in new garments for their burial. When the abbess of Ely, Ædilthryda's body, after lying in the earth sixteen years, was taken up, all that virgin-queen's array

and kinsfolks who wished had come and brought the soul-shot, as their gift at the offertory of that

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in which she had been buried, looked quite fresh; still, however, the corpse was dressed by the nuns in new clothing: Sed et linteamina omnia, quibus involutum erat corpus, integra apparuerunt .... Laverunt igitur virgines corpus, et novis indutum vestibus intulerunt in ecclesiam, &c.—*Beda, Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, cap. xix.

The same custom was practised towards the laity: hence various precious ornaments, showing by their workmanship their wearers must have held the Christian belief, besides brooches and armlets of gold, have been brought to light whenever the grave of an Anglo-Saxon thane has been found and happens to be examined.

These Anglo-Saxon rites for the dying and the dead were kept up among the monks, as we may see by the following extract from the rule which St. Dunstan had himself revised for the monasteries of this country: Frater autem ille infirmus si senserit suam crevisse imbecillitatem, indicetur hoc conventui a fratre illius custode. Ex eo ergo quotidie post matutinalem missam, sacerdos casula exutus cum reliquis illius ministris missæ, Eucharistiam ferentes præcedentibus cereis et turibulo, cum omni congregatione, eant ad visitandum infirmum canentes psalmos pœnitentiales consequente litania, et orationibus ac unctione olei prima tantum die; demum communicetur. Quod si infirmitas lenigata fuerit, intermittatur et hoc, sin alias, prosequatur visitatio usque ad exitum.

Eo igitur in extremis agente, pulsetur tabula conveniantque omnes ad tuendum exitum eius et initient commendationem animæ, *Subvenite sancti Domini*, et reliqua iuxta ordinem commendationis. Exempto autem homine,

holy sacrifice.[70] After Mass was done, the priest walked down and stood by the bier whereon lay

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lavetur corpus a quibus iussum fuerit: lotum induatur mundis vestimentis, id est interrula, cuculla, caligis, calceis, cuiuscumque sit ordinis, nisi vero sacerdos fuerit circumdetur ei stola super cucullam si ita ratio dictaverit; inde defertur in ecclesiam, psallentibus cunctis, motisque omnibus signis; quod si ante lucem, nocte, aut finitis tenebris in matutino obierit si sepulturæ impendenda præparari possunt ante refectionem fratrum, sepeliatur peractis missarum celebrationibus; sin minus, ordinentur fratres qui sine intermissione psalmodiæ vacent, residentes circa corpus die noctuque sequenti, donec mane facto, corpus terræ commendetur. Consummatis omnibus quæ sepulturæ officio debentur ibidem incipientes septem pœnitentiæ psalmos, revertantur ad ecclesiam, et prostrati coram sancto altari finiant eosdem psalmos pro fratre defuncto: dehinc, per septem continuos dies plenarie agatur vigilia, offerentibus cunctis ad matutinalem missam, et omnibus horis regularibus finitis, unum ex præscriptis prostrati canant psalmum, sequente oratione. Exinde usque ad trigesimum diem, more solito, cum tribus lectionibus agatur vigilia offerente uno choro ad missam. Trigesimo vero die iterum plenarie, his tam xxx diebus, quotidie sacerdotum unusquisque secretis oratorii locis specialiter pro eo missas celebret: diaconi vero psalterium ex integro; subdiaconi quoque quinquagenarium devotissime psallant, si autem occupati una die nequiverint, aliâ persolvant. Mittatur etiam epistola ad vicina quæque monasteria eiusdem depositionis denunciatura diem.—*Regularis Concordia*, p. 93.

[68] In the Bayeux tapestry, there is figured the burial of King Edward the Confessor. The royal corpse is within

stretched the corpse, over which he pronounced the usual prayers and absolutions.[71] Bishops, kings, and distinguished personages were almost always interred in a stone coffin,[72] and within the church

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a covered bier, which two men carry on their shoulders; persons in ordinary clothing, but known by the tonsure on the head to be clerks, walk behind it; and two little boys, holding hand-bells, which they are ringing, are by the side. The "VII handbellan" which Bishop Æthelwold bequeathed, along with many other ecclesiastical appliances, to Medeshamstede (*MS. Societ. Ant.* 60, f. 39, b), as well as those "XII handbella" left to Exeter cathedral by its bishop Leofric (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 275), and the III handbellan, enumerated in the list of Anglo-Saxon church-ornaments in a fine Evangelisterium belonging to York cathedral, may have been, among other liturgical uses, so employed at funerals, very likely to awaken the neighbourhood's attention as the procession went by, and ask the people's prayers for the soul of him or her whose body they saw then going to be buried.

[69] Et post lavationem corporis deferatur in ecclesia cum antiphonis et responsariis, et cum adpropinquarint ecclesiæ, cant̄ psalm̄ "Miserere" et Kyrriæ (sic) eleison, &c.—*Leofric's Missal, Bod.* 579, fol. 247, b.

[70] In ecclesia autem requiescat corpus defuncti quousque pro eius anima missa celebretur, et offeratur ab omnibus quibus visum fuerit.

[71] Post missam autem, stat sacerdos iuxta ferretrum ubi corpus est, et dicat oration̄ hanc, &c. (*Ibid.*) Et sic levatur corpus de ecclesia, et deportatur usque ad locum sepulturæ cum antiphona "Aperite mihi portas, &c." et ponitur in sepulchro.—*Ibid.*

itself;[73] but the great bulk of the people had coffins of wood[74] and a grave in the church-yard, or some

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[73] St. Cuthberht was buried in a stone coffin: "Cum autem," said the dying saint, "Deus susceperit animam meam, sepelite me in hac mansione juxta oratorium meum ad meridiem, contra orientalem plagam sanctæ crucis quam ibidem erexi. Est autem.... sarcophagum terræ cespite abditum quod olim mihi Cudda venerabilis abbas donavit. In hoc meum corpus reponite, involventes in sindone quam invenietis istic." (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, auct. V. Beda, *Op. Minor Hist.* ed. Stevenson, t. ii, p. 118.) Sebbi, who had laid aside the crown of the East Saxons for the monk's cowl, was enclosed in a stone coffin, as we learn from St. Beda: Cujus corpori tumulando præparaverunt sarcophagum lapideum. (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, cap. 11.) The new coffin provided for the holy virgin Ædilthryda's corpse, when it was translated into Ely minster, was of stone: Placuit abbatissæ levari ossa ejus, et in locello novo posita in ecclesiam transferri; jussitque quosdam fratribus quærere lapidem, de quo locellum in hoc facere possent. (*Ibid.* lib. iv, cap. 19.) The shape of the Anglo-Saxon coffin was different from ours; being broad at the head, narrow at the foot, and straight-sided, as we learn from the venerable historian of those times: Ita aptum corpori virginis sarcophagum inventum est, ac si ei specialiter præparatum fuisset; et locus quoque capitis seorsum fabrefactus ad mensuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit. (*Ibid.*) From the well-written account of that highly interesting discovery made, not long ago, at Pytchley, Northamptonshire, of a burial-ground, with graves of not merely the Anglo-Saxon, but of the Christian-British, period, we find that some such a hollow—for the head, particularly—used

lonely spot especially hallowed for Christian sepulture.[75] In each Anglo-Saxon burial-ground stood

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to be cut out of the live stone by the British Christians for their dead.—*Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, p. 111.

[73] St. Austin, and the archbishops who followed him in the see of Canterbury, were, for many years afterwards, buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, hard by that metropolitan city. (*Beda, Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii, cap. 3.) Indeed, it was expressly built that the bishops of Canterbury, and the kings of Kent, might be buried in it. (*Ibid.* lib. i, cap. 33.) The bishops were interred apart, by themselves, in the northern aisle; the kings and queens, in the southern aisle, dedicated to God in honour of St. Martin: In porticu illius (ecclesiæ AA. Petri et Pauli) aquilonali decenter sepultum est; in qua etiam sequentium archiepiscoporum omnium sunt corpora tumulata. (Lib. ii, cap. 3.) Defunctus est rex Ædilberct .... atque in porticu sancti Martini intra ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sepultus est, ubi et Bercta condita est. (*Ibid.* cap. v.) The "porticus" of St. Beda means our "aisle," not our "porch"; for it was "intra ecclesiam," within the church itself.

[74] In her meekheartedness, the royal Ædilthryda desired, and was buried in, a wooden coffin: Ut ipsa jusserat, non alibi quam in medio eorum, juxta ordinem quo transierat, ligneo in locello sepulta. (*Beda, Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, cap. 19.) From this it would seem that the nuns of Ely were all buried in the church-yard, and in wooden coffins. Sometimes did the dying man have placed close by his bed-side, the coffin in which he was to be buried: Intravit ergo illo episcopus, et vidit eum, mœstis omnibus, jam morti proximum, positumque loculum juxta eum in quo sepeliendus

a tall stone cross, generally wrought all over with knots and sculpture;[76] a little cross of stone often

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poni deberet. (*Ibid.* lib. v, cap. 5.) In these instances it is reasonable to think that the coffin was not of such a heavy material as stone; but of wood.

[75] Not always within, or by the side of, a church, was it that the Anglo-Saxons buried their dead; for they had burial-grounds hallowed in honour of St. Michael, the guardian of souls, and of other saints, situated in retired spots, as we learn from the life of St. John of Beverley: Est mansio quædam secretior, nemore raro, et vallo circumdata, non longe ab Hagustaldensi ecclesia .... habens cœmeterium sancti Michaelis archangeli, etc. (*Beda, Hist. Eccl.* lib. v, cap. 2.) Those who, unhappily, had died impenitent, were cast, like the drunken but clever smith spoken of by Beda, into unhallowed ground, without mass, psalm, or prayer of any kind, said for them: Sine viatico salutis obiit et corpus ejus in ultimis est monasterii locis humatum. (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. v, cap. 14.) The suicide's body was forbidden to be buried in the church-yard, or any place of clean sepulture: Si quis sponte seipsum occiderit armis vel quacunque diaboli instigatione, non est permissum, ut pro tali homine missa cantetur, vel cum aliquo psalmorum cantu corpus terræ committatur, vel in mundo cemeterio jaceret sepultum.—*Canons enacted under King Edgar, Ancient Laws*, etc., *of England*, ed. Thorpe, t. ii, p. 269.

[76] The church-yard cross is particularly mentioned in St. Cuthberht's life, quoted just now (note 72, p. 308); and examples of such a kind of cross, still spared to us, may be seen all over the kingdom, more particularly throughout the midland and northern counties: for instance, at Eyam and Bakewell, besides other towns and villages, in Derby-

upreared itself at the head of a grave, with a wish cut on it, in Runic letters, that the wayfarer would pray for the soul of him whose body lay below;[77] a cross, with the same petition written round it, was marked upon the small thin square stone set as a pillow[78] beneath the dead man's head

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shire; at Wolverhampton, Staffordshire; and in the same county, at Checkley, where the shaft of the old Anglo-Saxon cross is shattered into three pieces now serving as head-stones to as many graves, which the hamlet's tradition assigns to three bishops slain by the heathenish Danes. Like crosses, at Bedale and Aycliffe, may be seen figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, pp. 259-260; as also that at Hawkswell.—*Ibid.* p. 259.

[77] The small stone cross, measuring 3 feet in height and 1 foot 9 inches in breadth, which was found A.D. 1807, while digging a grave in the church-yard of St. Mary's, Lancaster, must have been of this sort; and if Professor Fin Magnussen of Copenhagen's reading of its Runic inscription may be trusted, it asks us to pray that Cynibald may find rest (*Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, p. 73); and for the same purpose was set up the second of the two crosses at Aycliffe, 4¾ feet in height and 15 inches in width.—*Ibid.* p. 261.

[78] That the Anglo-Saxons put pillows of some kind or another in the coffin, under the dead man's head, we learn from a passage in Ven. Beda, while describing the miracle which took place at the burial of Sebbi, king of the East Saxons: inventum est sarcophagum illud congruæ longitudinis ad mensuram corporis, adeo ut a parte capitis etiam cervical posset interponi, etc., *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, cap. 11. Under this pillow itself, if not indeed on many occasions

in his tomb; and a cross of wood, overspread with a sheathing of gilt metal, was in some instances enclosed with the corpse—very likely on its breast—and buried together with it.[79]

Throughout all these doleful services, we hear how feelingly and soothingly the Anglo-Saxon ritual spoke Catholic belief: while it prayed its prayers for peace and forgiveness, and the bright light of God's countenance on him or her whom death had carried off, it assured the living that the souls departed of their righteous brethren, and holy, spotless, fellow-servants, already dwelt in the fullest happiness of heaven with the Lord; and that, while to Him alone belonged the power of

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instead of it, was placed a small stone, generally square, though sometimes round, but always bearing on it the cross's holy sign, between the branches of which ran an inscription, written half in Runic half in Latin, to tell the name of, and ask a prayer for, the individual whose head it propped. Of such burial pillow-stones, some that were found at Hartlepool are figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi, plate 52, p. 480.

[79] The metal cross found upon the bishop's breast at Dorchester is mentioned in note 16, p. 179. A few years ago, I was shown a very curious cross, evidently of the Anglo-Saxon period, of wood, but neatly covered with thin leaves of gilt copper, and which had been found in digging a grave in the church-yard of (I think) East Farley, near Maidstone, Kent. It was little more than a foot in length, and must have been used for the purpose described in the text.

healing the soul after death, for us was it to cry unto His goodness and mercy in behalf of those who had gone before us, with the stain of smaller sins about them.[80] Hence was it, that into the mouth of the priest, while offering up the unbloody sacrifice for the dead, the Anglo-Saxon ritual put a form of supplication to be varied according to the condition in this life and the sex of the departed: besides this, it bade the priesthood to call down Heaven's forgiveness, not only on the souls of those for whom they were bound to pray especially by name, but also upon all whose bodies lay buried in the graves about their churches.[81]

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[80] The *Orationes* in the *Agenda Mortuorum*, to be found in Leofric's missal, lay down this doctrine of the Catholic Church very clearly:—Ds apud quem mortuorum spiritus vivunt, et in quo electorum animæ deposito carnis onere plena felicitate lætantur, præsta supplicantibus nobis ut anima famuli tui ill. quæ temporali per corpus visionis huius luminis caruit visu æterne illius lucis solatio potiatur; non eum tormentum mortis adtingat, non dolor horrendæ visionis officiat, non pœnalis timor excruciat, non reorum proxima catena constringat, sed concessa sibi delictorum omnium venia optata quietis consequatur gaudia repromissa. Per.—*Ibid.* fol. 251.

Ds cui soli competit medicinam præstare post mortem, præsta qs ut anima famuli tui ill. terrenis exuta contagiis in tuæ redemptionis parte numeretur. Per.—*Ibid.* fol. 251, b.

[81] *Missa super episcopum defunctum.*

Ad. Com. His sacrificiis qs omnips ds purgata anima et

4. But the wishes of the Anglo-Saxons to go after, as it were, the souls of the dead and help them in another world by the prayers they put up, and the good works they did for them in this, did not halt here. Like their fellow Catholics of bygone times, or those who dwelt at the period in other parts of Christendom, they took care to keep the "month's mind", as it is yet called, that is, to have offered up the holy sacrifice of the Mass in a more than usual solemn manner for the soul of a deceased friend all through the month, but especially on the third, the seventh, and the thirtieth day, immediately following his death;[82] and no

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spiritus famuli tui ill. epi ad indulgentiam et refrigerium sempiternum pervenire mereatur.—*Leofric's Missal, Bod.* 579, fol. 240, b.

Missa pro defuncta femina.

His sacrificiis dñe animæ (anima?) famulæ tuæ ill. a peccatis omnibus exuatur sine quibus a culpa nemo liber existit, ut per hæc piæ placationis officia ppetuam misericordiam consequatur.—*Ibid.* fol. 242.

Suscipe dñe pces ñras pro anima famuli tui ill. ut si qui ei maculæ de terrenis contagiis adhæserunt remissionis tuæ misericordia deleantur.—*Ibid.* fol. 243, b.

In cymeteriis.

Ds cuius miseratione animæ fidelium requiescunt, famulis tuis illis et istas (*sic*) et omnibus hic in Xpo quiescentibus da propitius veniam peccatorum ut a cunctis reatibus absoluti sine fine lætentur. Per.—*Ibid.*

[82] In telling us of this ritual custom, Abp. Theodore

doubt it was from a feeling wish on the side of the legislature, to hinder the niggardness of surviving

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assigns its origin and meaning in the manner following:—*De commemoratione defunctorum, vel de Missa pro eis, et cur* III, VII, *vel* XXX, *aut anniversarius dies cælebretur.*

Solemus memoriam mortuorum generaliter celebrare tercia, ac septima, et tricesima die—Purgatio mortui hominis per sacrificium sacerdotis, tertia die et VII, congruit naturæ humanæ: peccatum animæ quæ neglexit Dei cultum in cogitatione, vita, et in intellectu, humiliter confitendo, offerimus Deo sacrificium tercia die, ut ab his peccatis purgetur: similiter, peccatum quod per corpus gessit, cupimus purgari in quarto die post tercium diem id est VII post mortem suam, quia corpus notissimis elementis subsistit. Duobus modis committitur omne peccatum, aut faciendo ea quæ non debuimus facere, aut omittendo ea quæ debuimus facere. Omnia peccata quæ egit et non debuit agere, deflemus usque ad septimum diem in quo numero designatur universitas; deinceps usque ad tricesimum diem, rogamus et pro illis quæ debuit facere et non fecit. Seorsum vero rogamus pro anima et seorsum pro corpore; quando vero studemus ut opera amicorum nostrorum sint plena coram Deo; tricesimo die pro eis sacrificium offerimus—Missa sæcularium mortuorum ter in anno, tertia die, et VII et XXX, quia surrexit Dominus (tertia die), et VII dies jejunavere filii Israel pro Saul, et XXX dies—Moysen planxere.—*Theodori Arch. Cant. Liber Penitentialis,* t. ii, pp. 51, 52, 53, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed.* Thorpe. St. Dunstan also speaks of the month's prayer, and of the service on the III, VII, and XXX day: Dehinc (pro fratre defuncto) per septem continuos dies plenarie agatur vigilia offerentibus cunctis ad matuti-

relatives from cheating the dead out of the Church's services, that it recommended the dues for the

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nalem missam, et omnibus horis regularibus unum ex præscriptis (psalmis pœnitentialibus) prostrati canant psalmum, sequenti oratione: exinde usque ad trigesimum diem more solito cum tribus lectionibus agatur vigilia offerente uno choro ad missam. Trigesimo vero die, iterum plenarie, his tamen xxx diebus quotidie sacerdotum unusquisque secretis oratorii locis specialiter pro eo missas celebret: diaconi vero psalterium ex integro, subdiaconi quoque quinquagenarium devotissime psallant, si autem occupati una die nequiverint alia persolvant. Et agatur pro eo prima, tertia, septima, trigesima dies plenarie, reliquis sub brevitate.—*Regularis Concordia S. Dunstani Archiep. Cant. apud* Reynerum, *Apost. Benedict. in Anglia;* in *Append.* p. 93. Moreover, in one of the provincial councils held in that part of Germany which our countryman St. Boniface, and his Anglo-Saxon fellow-labourers, had converted, there is a canon headed *De trigesimis mortuorum*, which enacts thus: Fideles pro defunctis amicis jejunia et oblationes triginta diebus adimpleri faciant.—*S. Bonifacii, Op.* ed. Giles, t. ii, p. 33. No wonder, then, we find the masses more particularly for these three days, especially set forth in the oldest liturgical codices: in the *Liber Sacramentorum S. Gregorii* there is the *Missa in die depositionis defuncti, sive* iii, vii, *Trigessimoque*, ed. Menard, p. 231. Exactly the same rubric is to be found in Leofric's Missal, fol. 244, in the Bodleian, *Bod.* 579.

But the thirty days' prayer in behalf of the dead was used throughout the Church, long before the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons; and several Fathers speak of it. St. Ephrem the Syrian thus feelingly beseeches, in his last

above purpose should be paid before the corpse was buried.[83]

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will, all his surviving friends to say mass for his soul: Fratres .... comitamini me in oratione, in psalmis et in oblationibus. Et quando diem trigesimum complevero, mei memoriam, fratres, facite: mortui enim vivorum oblationibus juvantur ... Si autem Mathathiæ filii ... sicut in Scripturis legistis per oblationes tamen eos a reatibus mundarunt, qui in bello ceciderant, licet operibus suis Ethnici, suisque moribus mali fuissent; quanto magis sacerdotes filii Dei per sanctas suas oblationes, et per linguarum suarum precationes debita mortuorum condonabunt (*S. Ephræm Syrus, in Test. Biblioth. Orientalis*, t. i, pp. 143, 144). Leaving the east to come to the western part of Christendom, we find the same practice mentioned by St. Ambrose: Ejus ergo principis et proxime conclamavimus obitum, et nunc quadragesimam celebramus, adsistente sacris altaribus Honorio principe; quia sicut sanctus Joseph patri suo Jacob quadraginta diebus humationis officia detulit, ita et hic Theodosio patri justa persolvit. Et quia alii tertium diem et trigesimum, alii septimum et quadragesimum observare consueverunt, quid doceat lectio, consideremus.—*S. Ambrosius de obitu Theodosii, Op.* t. vii, p. 27, sec. 280, § 3, Venetiis, 1781.

Some of the most touching passages in the writings of St. Ambrose, are those in which he promises to pray and offer up the Holy Sacrifice for the souls of the dead. Thus he consoles Faustinus at his sister's death:—Itaque non tam deplorandam, quam prosequendam orationibus reor: nec mœstificandam lacrymis tuis, sed magis oblationibus animam ejus Domino commendandam arbitror (*Epist.* xxxviii, *Ibid.* t. vi, p. 128, sec. 1014, § 4). In be-

In common with their fellow Catholics of these our times, as well as with those of all ages and in

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half of his brother Satyrus's soul, the holy bishop addresses the Almighty in these words:—Tibi nunc omnipotens Deus, innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hostiam meam offero: cape propitius ac serenus fraternum munus, sacrificium sacerdotis (*Ibid.* t. vi, p. 534). Again hear how the same good pastor intercedes with God for the soul's rest of his friend the Emperor Theodosius with all the holy warmth of a Christian heart: Da requiem perfectam servo tuo Theodosio, requiem illam quam præparasti sanctis tuis. Illo convertatur anima ejus unde descendit; ubi mortis aculeum sentire non possit, ubi cognoscat mortem hanc non naturæ finem esse, sed culpæ.

Dilexi, et ideo persequor eum usque ad regionem vivorum, nec deseram, donec fletu et precibus inducam virum, quo sua merita vocant, in montem Domini sanctum; ubi perennis vita, ubi corruptela nulla, nulla contagio, nullus gemitus, nullus dolor, nullum consortium mortuorum, vera regio viventium, ubi mortale hoc induat immortalitatem, et corruptibile hoc induat incorruptionem. (*Ibid. De Obitu Theodosii*, t. vii, p. 36, sec. 292, 293.) It must not be thought that praying for the dead was a thing of mere choice, during the early ages of the church; so far is this from truth, that St. Epiphanius puts down, as one among the heresies of which Arius was guilty, the teaching of that heresiarch, that prayers for the dead were idle, and of no avail. (*St. Epiphanius, Hær.* 75.) More than a century after St. Ambrose's time, St. Gregory the Great notices this thirty days' prayer for the dead: Diu est quod frater ille qui defunctus est, in igne cruciatur; debemus ei aliquid caritatis impendere, et eum inquantum possumus, ut

every corner of the earth, the Anglo-Saxons knew that the funeral cypress of hotter climes, and their

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eripiatur, adjuvare. Vade, itaque, et ab hodierna die diebus triginta continuis offerre pro eo sacrificium stude, ut nullus omnino prætermittatur dies, quo, pro absolutione illius hostia salutaris non immoletur.—*S. Gregorii Dialog.* lib. iv, cap. 4, p. 468, *Op.* t. ii, Parisiis, 1705.

Though the liturgical thirty days' prayer for the departed soul, is much older than this great pontiff's times, there was a favourite form of it,—popularly known in England as St. Gregory's trental,—which lasted thoughout the whole year, and consisted of the following thirty masses, to be said, according to Salisbury Use, in this manner: Si quis trigintale Sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit: tunc celebret tres missas de nativitate Domini: tres de Epyphania Domini: tres de purificatione Beatæ Mariæ: tres de annunciatione ejusdem: tres de resurrectione Dñi: tres de ascen. Domini: tres de Pente.: tres de Trinitate: tres de assumptione Beatæ Mariæ Virginis: et tres de nativi. ejusdem itaquod iste misse celebrentur infra oct. dictorum festorum sicut in prima die, etc. Et debent dici quotidie per annum "Placebo" et "Dirige," etc. (*Missale ad Usum Sarum*, fol. 53, *reverse*, Parisiis, apud Gulielmum Merlin, 1555. The whole of this Sarum rubric has been thus translated and quoted by Becon:—Thre masses of the Nativity of our Lord. Thre masses of the Epiphanie of our Lord. Three of the Purification of our Lady. Thre of the Annunciation of our Lady. Thre of the Resurrection of our Lord. Thre of the Ascension of our Lord. Thre of Pentecost. Thre of the Trinite. Thre of the Assumption of our Lady; and thre of her Nativitie; so that these masses be celebrated within

own hardy evergreen yew-tree,[84] overshadowing the graves on the south side of many a church-yard,

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the octaves of the said feasts, as on the first day, with the same *Kirie eleyson, Gloria in excelsis*, and *Credo*; and also the same Sequence and Preface with *Communicantes. Hanc igitur*: *Sanctus*, and *Agnus*, as it is contained in the Canon of the Masse: also with these prayers folowyng, so that the prayers that folowe be sayed with the collecte of the feast under one *Oremus* and under one *Per Dominum*. There must also be sayde every daye thorowout the yeare, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with ix Psalmes, and ix lessons, and ix Anthemes, excepte it be the tyme of Easter, when it shal be said dayly with thre lessons only. The commendation also must be sayd as often, so that both at *Placebo* and at *Dirige* the first collect or prayer shall be *Deus summa spes*, et c. and also at the commendacion. Againe, at the masse of the day, the aforesayd prayer shall be sayde of him that celebrateth the masse thorowout the whole yeare.—*The Reliques of Rome by Thos. Becon*, 1563, fol. 207, b.

[83] It is most proper that soul-scot be always paid at the open grave.—*Laws of K. Ethelred*, ed. Thorpe, t. i, p. 309.

[84] A great many of our churches stand upon the very spot where stood an Anglo-Saxon, if not even a British church; and on this point one of the best proofs is the valuable discovery made, not long ago, of an Anglo-Saxon, and beneath that of a Christian British burial-ground, under the church and church-yard of Pytchley, Northamptonshire (*Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, p. 105). That those venerable old yew-trees, to be seen in so many of our church-yards, were put there by order of Edward I, to provide the youths of the parish with bow-staves for prac-

were not "the only constant mourners o'er the dead"; for they were quite aware the Church never

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tising archery, is not only unsupported by the weakest evidence, but of itself is an idea which cannot bear examination. Many of those trees were planted by Anglo-Saxons', not a few by Christian-Britons' hands. At Aldworth, Berks, there stands, in the church-yard, a yew-tree, measuring nine yards in circumference at upwards of four feet from the ground. The shape is very regular, of an urn-like form. The branches spread to a considerable distance, and rise to a great height. (*Beauties of England*, vol. i, p. 171.) Now if we follow the rule laid down by De Candolle, and referred to by Professor Henslow in his *Botany*, we shall find that this yew-tree is as old as the ancient British period of our ecclesiastical annals. Learning that our countryman, Evelyn, had left exact notes of the circumferences to which some of the most celebrated specimens had reached in England, De Candolle measured the same trees again; and then comparing Evelyn's measurements with his own, and noting how much each had grown, this learned foreign botanist found that the yew-tree, in this country, increases its diameter one line every year. During the June of 1841 I visited the Aldworth yew; and, on measuring, ascertained it had enlarged its girth by half-a-yard since it had been noticed in the first volume of the *Beauties of England*, published 1760,—that is, in the course of eighty-one years. But as half-a-yard is equal to eighteen inches, equal to 216 lines, which, divided by three, will show the increase of the diameter to have been only seventy-two lines after eighty-one years, we perceive that this specimen had not grown so fast as De Candolle's rule would allow. Let us, however, take that rule as a safe one, and then we have this result

would forget them, but many times each day throughout the year beseech God's forgiveness on

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of the Aldworth yew's age in the year 1760. Being nine yards in circumference, this tree was therefore three yards in diameter; but 3 yds.=9 ft. × 12=108 in. × 12=1296 lines, or as many years old, A.D. 1760; and subtracting its age from that date (1760−1296=464), we perceive that it must have been planted as far back as A.D. 464: that is, shortly after the preaching of St. Germanus against the Pelagian heresy. Hitherto our ecclesiastical antiquaries have taken little or no heed of the church-yard yew-tree; but it is much to be wished, on several accounts, that whenever a church is visited, for the sake of making notes of it, attention may be paid to its yew-tree, if it has one; the position of which, and its circumference, ought to be jotted down. Sometimes, too, where the yew is but young, its donor's name, and the planting of the tree, are both recorded in some of the church papers; as I found, not long ago, while looking through some old books kept in a room over the porch at Sutton, not far from Abingdon.

So strong was their love for this well-chosen symbol of never-fading joy in heaven, that the early Christian Britons, it is likely, often, if not always, sought to build their churches quite near to some fine yew-tree,—even then, may be, a few hundred years old. Perhaps the largest of our church-yard yews may be older than Christianity itself. Giraldus Cambrensis, while in Ireland, A.D. 1186, noticed, standing in the church-yards there, some very old yew-trees, which were thought to have been planted by the holy men of old: Præ terris autem omnibus, quas intravimus longe copiosius amaro hic succo taxus abundat, maxime vero in cœmiteriis antiquis, locisque sacris sanctorum

their souls, and that too with more especial care as time brought round their anniversaries, if they craved it, and had asked while living, and taken steps that such a holy office might be done in their behalf. That all indeed, high or low, rich or poor, clerk or layman, strongly wished to be so remembered after death, in the Church's prayers, is shown by each monument we have belonging to Anglo-Saxon times. For the deceased archbishops of Canterbury, was there, from the earliest days, a solemn mortuary service every week offered up at the altar of St. Gregory, near to which those metropolitans had allotted them a burial place:[85] sovereigns founded monasteries for their own ghostly weal hereafter; and often did a king desire to have his grave dug beneath the roof of that same church whither it was his wont to come to

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virorum manibus olim plantatas, et decorem et ornatum quem addere poterant, arborum istarum copiam videas. (*Topogr. Hiberniæ*, ed. Camden, p. 739.) Most likely the Irish were taught this custom by their elder sister in the faith, the British church; and St. Patrick may have, among other ritual usages taken over to Ireland from this his native country, Britain, introduced the practice of always having a yew-tree in the church-yard.

[85] Habet hæc (ecclesia SS. AA. Petri et Pauli) in medio pene sui altare in honore beati papæ Gregorii dedicatum, in quo per omne sabbatum, a presbytero loci illius agendæ eorum solemniter celebrantur.—*Bedæ Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii, c. iii, p. 105.

pray and hear God's hallowed word, believing, as he so warmly did, that his poor departed soul would be much helped by the daily prayer of those religious men who served the Lord in that place,[86] and of whom this earthly prince had provided there should dwell an unbroken succession there, until Christianity ceased to be known in this island, to act as prayerful intercessors to Almighty God in behalf of their long-deceased benefactor.[87] More-

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[86] In quo monasterio ipse rex (Oidilvald) et frequentius ad deprecandum Dominum verbumque audiendum advenire, et defunctus sepeliri deberet. Nam et seipsum fideliter credidit multum juvari eorum orationibus quotidianis, qui illo in loco Domino servirent. (*Ibid.* lib. iii, c. xxiii, p. 211.) Under the same pious feelings was it that Queen Æanfled built a monastery, the monks of which were for ever to pray in behalf of Oswin's soul, and even for the wretch's who had murdered him: In quo monasterio orationes assiduæ pro utriusque regis (id est, et occisi et ejus qui occidere jussit) salute æterna fierent.—*Ibid.* lib. iii, c. xxiv, p. 217.

[87] Thus it is that Ætheluulf, king of Kent, A.D. 832, expresses his intention for the pious bequest of some lands which he bestowed upon Christchurch, Canterbury, as we learn from his deed of gift: Has enim prænominatas ac suprascriptas donationes nostras Deo omnipotenti ad laudem et gloriam seu etiam pro expiatione piaculorum nostrorum in perpetuam possessionem post dies nostros perpetualiter liberatum, sicut ante prædictum est, concedendo donamus, ut laus Dei a congregatione illa intercessioque animarum nostrarum omniumque amicorum nostrorum in illo loco

over, hardly was ever an ornament—cross or chalice of gold, cope or chasuble, or offertory dish—bequeathed to the altar,[88] hardly a grant, though

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incessanter, quamdiu Christiana fides permaneat, cotidie erigatur. Hanc eandem donationem cum signo sanctæ crucis confirmavi, etc. (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* ed. Kemble, t. v, p. 89.) Such, too, was the wish of another of our Anglo-Saxon kings: Volo autem ut quamdiu christianitas permanserit in hac insula, sint monachi de Certeseya mei intercessores ad Dominum. (*Athelstan*, A.D. 933, *Codex Dip.* ed. Kemble, t. ii, p. 193.) While augmenting the landed possessions of the bishopric of Winchester, this same King Æthelstan enjoined that the members of the church of the Holy Trinity, in that city, should be fed thrice in the year for ever: Volo itaque ut hæc supradicta familia semetipsam pro me tribus diebus in anno pascat, hoc est in festivitate Omnium Sanctorum, et quamdiu Christianitas permanserit in hac insula, sint illi mei intercessores ad Dominum.—*Ibid.* t. v, p. 216.

[88] Ic geann into Baðum to sancte Petres mynstre for mine earman sawle and for minra yldrena ðe me min ar of com, and mine ahta.... anes beages is on syxtigum mancussum goldes, and anre blede is on þriddan healfon punde, and twega gyldenra roda, and anes maessereafes mid eallum ðam ðe ðaerto gebyreð.—*Wulfwaru's Will, Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iii, p. 293.) Ego (Ælfgyva Ymma regina, A.D. 997) contuli eidem æcclesiæ Christi, pro spe salutis æternæ, calicem cum patena aurea, in quo sunt xiii marcæ de puro auro, et duo dorsalia de pallio et duas capas de pallio cum cessalis (tassellis?) auro paratis. (*Ibid.* p. 299.) Among many other munificent bequests, Queen Ælfgyfu (A.D. 1012) leaves "annae offring disc into Nunna myn-

small, bestowed on any church, or monastic house, but what the prince or thane who made it, expressly named that it was conferred in his own soul's and his forefathers' souls' behalf, and for the loosening of their sins.[89]

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staer." (*Ibid.* p. 360.) The beautiful palls given by the same princess to Ely, we have already noticed, t. i, p. 299.

[89] Pro animæ remedio (*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, ed. Kemble, tom. i, p. 1); pro absolutione criminum meorum (*ibid.* p. 35); consulens animæ meæ in posterum (*ibid.* p. 51); pro remedio animæ meæ atque meorum patrum (*ibid.* p. 115); pro remedio animæ meæ et propinqui mei Hatheredi, necnon pro salute cunctarum animarum stirpis nostræ (*ibid.* p. 206); pro perpetua redemptione ac salute animæ meæ meique conjugis (*ibid.* p. 212); pro salute animæ meæ et omnium progenitorum meorum (*ibid.* p. 269); providens mihi in futuro decrevi dare aliquid omnia mihi donanti (*ibid.* p. 54); pro remedio animæ meæ et relaxacione piaculorum meorum. (*Ibid.* p. 126.) Offerings of money were sometimes carried to Rome, and distributed there for the good of the dead: Ego Dunwald minister, dum adviveret, inclitæ memoriæ regis Æthelberti, nunc vero pecuniam illius pro animæ eius salute ad limina apostolorum Romæ cum aliis perferre desiderans, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 133. See also tom. iii, pp. 128, 271, 273, 293, 304, 351, 354.) In one of his charters, Eadweard of Wessex, A.D. 903, says: Ego Eadward.... Angul-Saxonum rex, pro piaculorum meorum remedio, necnon et antecessorum meorum atque etiam posteritatis meæ subsequentis, etc. (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. v, p. 152.) A charter of King Æthelstan's, A.D. 932, has the passage following: Pro redemptione animæ meæ et pro salute omnium prio-

Rightly believing as they did, and as all Catholics do and ever have, that the prayers of the living, alms-deeds, fastings, but more than anything else, the offering up of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, are such helps to the dead man's soul that they free it before the day of judgment from its sufferings,[90] those endowments which our Anglo-Saxon forefathers made to win for themselves and kindred such ghostly aids in another world, were neither few nor stinty. As they brought to church the fresh green sod of earth—symbol of the lands they were giving—and put it along with their deed of gift upon God's altar,[91] they spoke their wishes

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rum regum et futurorum, et pro tocius populi Christiani seu viventis vel defuncti in gente Anglorum, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 211.

[90] The angel-guide who explains the vision to Dryhthelm, speaking of those who "sic de corpore exeunt," says: Multos autem preces viventium et eleemosynæ et jejunia et maxime celebratio missarum, ut etiam ante diem judicii liberentur, adjuvant.—*S. Bedæ, Hist. Eccl.* lib. v, c. xii, § 394, p. 363, ed. Stevenson.

[91] Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, in bestowing the monastery of Coccham upon the church of Canterbury, made it over to that cathedral in this manner: Utque illius donatio perseverantior fieret, ex eadem terra cespitem et cunctos libellos præmemorati cœnobii, per venerabilem virum Cuthbertum archiepiscopum misit, et super altare Salvatoris pro perpetua sua salute poni præcepit. (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* ed. Kemble, t. v, p. 58.) Sometimes the deed of gift was written in the church itself, and before

that the offering might earn for them a forgiveness of sins and everlasting happiness. To carry out the gospel-grounded wishes of its benefactors, a cathedral, or minster, or parish church, as it might be, entered into various sorts of agreements with them; a formal pledge was given that such a number of psalms should be sung, so many masses said therein, each day throughout the year for the well-being, ghostly and temporal, of those friends as long as they might live, and when they died, for their souls' speedy health and healing from their sins in the other world.[92] Sometimes the

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the high altar, upon which the royal donor placed it with his own hands, as we learn from the charter of King Æthevulf's offering of the land of Wintereden to St. Peter's church at Winchester: Scripta est autem hæc donatio.... in civitate Wentana, in æcclesia Sancti Petri, ante altare capitale..... Et tunc pro ampliori firmitate rex Ætheluulfus posuit cartulam supra altare Sancti Petri, et episcopi pro fide Dei acceperunt; et postea per omnes æcclesias transmiserunt in suis parochiis, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 94.

[92] Bishop Waerferth and the brotherhood of St. Peter's minster, at Worcester, promised Æthelred and Æthelflaed, that, during life, and after death, they should both be prayed for after this manner: Every day, at each before-dawn-song or matins, at each even-song, and at each tierce-song, there should be said for them the psalm *De Profundis*, as long as they were alive, but after death the *Laudate Dominum;* and on every Saturday there should be said for them, at St. Peter's church, thirty psalms and masses, both as long as they lived, and after their death: Waerferð

promise was but for one day in every week;[93] sometimes for each returning year's mind or anniversary only of their death,[94] and such kind religious

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bisceop and se heored habbaþ gesetted þaes godcundnesse beforan þaere þe him mon daeghwamlice deþ ge be heora life ge aefter heora life, þaet þonne aet eolcum uhtsonge and aet eolcum aefensonge and aet eolcum undernsong, De Profundis, þonne sealme, þa hawile þe heo lifgeon; and aefter heora life Laudate Dominum, and aelce Saerternesdaege on Sanctes Petres cyrcean þrittig sealma and heora maessan aegþer ge for heo lifgende ge eac forðgeleorde.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. v, p. 143.

[93] Masses and psalms were promised to be said for Æthelwolf of Wessex, A.D. 844, every Wednesday, in the churches of Shireburn and Winchester, for ever: Placuit autem tunc postea episcopis Ælhstano Scireburnensis æcclesiæ et Helmstano Wyntanceastrensis æcclesiæ cum suis abbatibus et servis Dei consilium inire, ut omnes fratres et sorores nostri ad unamquamque æcclesiam omni ebdomada Mercoris die, hoc est Wodnesdag omnis congregatio cantet quinquaginta psalmos, et unusquisque presbyter duas missas, unam pro rege Æðelwlfo, et aliam pro ducibus eius huic dono consentientibus, pro mercede et refrigerio delictorum suorum.... Postquam autem defuncti fuerint pro rege defuncto, singulariter; pro principibus defunctis, communiter. Et hoc sit tam firmiter constitutum omnibus diebus Christianitatis quasi libertas constituta est quamdiu fides crescit in gente Anglorum.—*Ibid.* p. 94.

[94] Ceolwen, by a deed of gift, made over to Winchester minster fifteen hides of land: ut memores sint eius et animæ Osmodi—ad anniversarium eius, hoc est septimo die ante Rogationes.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. v, p. 136.

services were to be done in those churches until the Christian belief itself should have an end in this island. Heaven was called upon to witness and begged to watch over the gift; and curses loud and deep were spoken, hot and withering anathemas were hurled against that impious man whose Judas-like greediness should at any time drive him to rob the Church of what had thus been bestowed upon it, or hinder the donor's wishes from being fulfilled.[95]

In the Anglo-Saxon translation of this charter, "anniversarium" is rendered "his gemunde dege" (*ibid.* p. 137), his mind day. The "Missa in die annivēr.," or mass to be said on the anniversary day, may be seen in Leofric's Missal, *Bod.* 579, fol. 244.

[95] Thus is it that the first Christian king among the Anglo-Saxons, Æthilberht of Kent, A.D. 604, begs God's wrath may fall upon such as disturb his gift of land to Rochester cathedral: Si quis—præsumpserit minuere aut contradicere, in conspectu Dei sit damnatus et sanctorum eius, hic et in æterna sæcula, nisi emendaverit ante eius transitum quod inique gessit contra christianitatem nostram.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. i, p. 1. A hundred years later, Æthilweard of the Hwiccas, A.D. 706, speaks thus: Si quis autem donationem Christo a nobis traditam temptaverit infringere, confringat Deus regnum et potentiam eius hic et in futuro sæculo, sitque pars eius cum Juda infideli traditore.—*Ibid.* p. 64. Towards those who shall take from the privileges he has bestowed upon the church, king Æthelstan's wishes are: Cum Juda proditore infaustoque pecuniarum compilatore suisque impiissimis fautori-

But his obit or anniversary day was not thus merely cared for, and endowments made for the keeping of it. That he might always have good men and women's prayerful remembrances for his welfare during this life, and in the next for his soul's quicker freedom from the sin-cleansing smarts of purgatory, the Anglo-Saxon, while leaving his gift to a church or a religious house, often agreed that he should be allowed to go into a kind of holy fellowship with it, and be prayed for in the Masses offered up by its priests, and be thought of by the brethren of that minster, or the sisterhood of that mynchery in their psalm-singing, their fastings, and their alms-deeds, so as to have his share in the merit of those hallowed works. Among the Anglo-Saxons nothing was more common than for lay-folks to enter into such a sort of brotherhood with cathedrals and monasteries.[6]

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bus sub æterne maledictionis anathemate edacibus innumerabilium tormentorum flammis sine defectu periturum. *Ibid.* t. ii, p. 192.

[96] When Cnut and his brother Harold were received into the fellowship of Canterbury, the king bestowed upon that cathedral the splendid copy of the Gospels now in the British Museum, and which tells us that: ✠ In nomine Dñi Jhū Xpi. Her is apriten Cnutes Kinges nama þe is ure leofa hlaford for porulde 7 ure gastlica broðor for Gode 7 Harold ðaes Kinges broðor.—*MS. Bib. Reg.* i, D. ix. Our kings in days of old became brothers not only of monasteries in this country, but of those abroad; so too

As might be anticipated, evidence of such a practice was heard in the wording, and could be

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did many of our bishops: this we learn from the instance of king Æthelstan, and some bishops along with him, who were formally admitted into brotherhood with St. Gall's and all the monasteries of Germany. Confraternitas inita inter monasterium S. Galli et Anglorum regem Adelstean necnon Keonuuald episcopum ac alios, sub Engelberto II, abbate, anno Christi 929.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCXXVIIII. Indictione II. Keonwald venerabilis episcopus profectus est ab Anglis: omnibus monasteriis per totam Germaniam cum oblatione de argento non modica, et in idipsum a Rege Anglorum eadem sibi tradita visitatis in Idib. Octob. venit ad monasterium S. Galli;—Secundo autem, postquam monasterium ingressus est hoc est, in ipso Depositionis Sancti Galli die, basilicam intravit et pecuniam copiosam secum attulit, de qua partem altario imposuit, partem etiam utilitati fratrum donavit. Post hæc, eo in conventum nostrum introducto, omnis congregatio concessit ei annonam unius fratris, et eandem orationem quam pro quolibet de nostris, sive vivente, sive vita decedente, facere solemus, pro illo facturam perpetualiter promisit. Hæc sunt autem nomina, quæ conscribi rogavit. Rex Anglorum Adalstean, Keonowald Episcopus. Wigart. Kenuun. Conrat. Keonolaf. Wuntrud. Keontrud.—*Appendix* A, *to* Mr. Cooper's *Report, Supplement*, p. 20.

Osuulf ealderman and Beornðryð his wife begin the deed of gift to Christchurch, Canterbury, thus: With great lowliness we pray we two may be in the community of those who are God's servants. . . . Ond mid micelre eadmodnisse biddaþ þaet wit moten bion on þem gemanon þe

gathered from the ceremonial of the Anglo-Saxon Church's liturgy. The laic who had brotherhood with any of the religious bodies, was looked upon as a child of that house—its friend—its familiar—was thought of and prayed for as such under this latter appellation.[97] Not one day ever shone down upon this land, but its morning had been awakened by heavenward strains—by the song of worshippers around a thousand altars upon which the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered—by the solemn anthem and the psalmody poured forth to God from thousands of choirs; and the glimmering of earliest dawn lighted their path for the inmates of every cloister as they went forth singing from their church to go and walk slowly around that minster's burial ground, then stop there until they had

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ðaer gobes ðiowas siondan.—*Codex Dipl.* ed. Kemble, t. i, p. 292, circa A.D. 805. Sometimes the agreement for brotherhood, between the laity and a religious house, is noticed in these words: ✠ Hec est cartula quæ demonstrat conventionem illam quam fecerunt Oswulfus et Æðiliða uxor sua cum domino abbate Leofstano et monachis æcclesiæ sancti Albani, quando introierunt in fraternitatem illorum, etc.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 280.

[97] Pro familiaribus . . . propitius esto famulis tuis benivolis omnibus et benefactoribus atque consanguineis nostris seu et his qui se nr̃s manibus vel orationibus commendaverunt vel qui nobis ælemosinarum suarum reditus erogaverunt succurre eis ubique.—*Leofric's Missal, Bod.* 579, ff. 284, b. 285. At fol. 25, there is the *Missa pro Familiaribus.*

chanted, at the foot of the cross that uprose amid the graves, a short service in behoof of all their brothers' and sisters' souls, their laical brethren's included, whose bodies lay buried in that hallowed spot.[98] So much indeed did the thane and the wealthy ealderman usually wish for interment among the brethren of that house with which he was in religious fellowship, that often did he make an express agreement, in whatever part of the country his

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[98] In Anglo-Saxon monasteries, the religious, after they had sung the matin service, went at day-dawn in procession, and chanting psalms, all about the graves of their dead brethren: Cum enim nocte quadam, expletis matutinæ laudis psalmodiis, egressæ de oratorio famulæ Christi ad sepulchra fratrum, qui eas ex hac luce præcesserant, solitas Domino laudes decantarent, etc.—*Beda, Hist. Ecc.* lib. iv, cap. vii. The object of such a visit was to pray for the souls of those brethren who lay buried there; for in St. Dunstan's revision of the Benedictine Rule for this country, we find it thus ordered: Post quos (diei laudes) eundum est ad matutinales laudes de omnibus sanctis, decantando antiphonam, ad venerationem Sancti cui porticus, ad quam itur, dedicata est. Post hos, laudes pro defunctis. Quod si luce diei ut oportet finitum fuerit officium, incipiant Primam, etc.—*Reg. Concor. Anglic.* nat. ed. Reynero, p. 81. But as lay folks—men and women—who had been, while living, in brotherhood with a religious house, might, if they so wished, be buried in the same burial-ground along with the professed members of that community (see note 86, p. 324), they came within the meaning of brethren, and as such were thus prayed for.

death might happen, a company of those monks should come and fetch his corpse to their minster and give it solemn burial therein.[99]

Even the smallest circumstances of every-day life were sought out and put to spiritual profit: on high festivals and other solemn occasions, to the abbot or the prior, as he arose from table at the end of dinner, there was brought a large bowl filled with wine, of which he drank a little, and handed this "poculum charitatis", or love-cup, round to his monks, each of whom took a short draught in like manner: after this ceremony, which was meant as a symbol of brotherly affection and good-will one towards another, was said grace, which finished with a prayer for their benefactors alive and dead. Now, as he bequeathed a silver bowl unto a favourite monastery, to be used in this ritual form of drinking by the brethren there, the trustful Anglo-Saxon hoped that he, as the giver of the cup, would be more immediately brought to their pious remembrance and be oftener prayed for in their thanksgivings after meals.[1] Hundreds of

[99] Ærnketel and Wulfrun his wife say: Volumus autem ut post dies nostros corpora nostra ibidem, si Deo placuerit, sepulta requiescant, et ubicunque alter nostrum vitam finierit, fratres Ramesiæ venientes cum custamento tam suo quam amicorum nostrorum corpus defuncti Ramesiam deferant tumulandum, etc.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 303.

[1] ✠ Ego Ædelgiva comitissa do et concedo æcclesiæ

years after the coming here of the Normans, this wish, so long cherished among all classes in this

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Ramesiæ ad honorem Dei et sancti Benedicti et ad animæ meæ subsidium sempiternum terram meam de Stowe, etc. Do etiam duos cyphos argenteos de XII marcis ad pondus hustingiæ Londoniensis ad serviendum fratribus in refectorio, quatenus dum in eis potus edentibus fratribus ministratur, memoria mei eorum cordibus arctius inculcetur. Estote fratres carissimi memores mei erga Eum cuius gratia indigeo. Deus autem sit nobis propitius; et ego vobis fida soror ero quamdiu duraverit tempus meum.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 304. A shadow of this Anglo-Saxon custom may yet be seen in the grace-cup of the universities, and the loving cup passed round among the guests at the great dinners given by the Lord Mayor of London. The *charitas*, or draught of wine as a pledge of mutual kindness, is often noticed in old rituals; St. Dunstan, in his *Concordia Regularis*, p. 87, speaks of it; so does St. Osmund's cotemporary, John bp. of Avrenches, in his curious work, *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, ed. Prevotio, p. 57, where he tells us that on Maundy Thursday: Cum eadem processione ad potandam caritatem in refectorium pergant. St. Margaret, queen of Scotland, it would seem, brought the loving cup into use among the Scotch, for on the authority of Father Lesley, the Bollandists, in a note to that Anglo-Saxon princess's life, tell us: Gratiosum inventum, Margaritæ vulgo attribui solitum propinandi mutuo haustus ab iis qui gratiarum vel S. Margaritæ nuncupatur.—*AA. SS. Junii*, t. ii, p. 332. Wiglaf, king of Mercia, is said to have given, A.D. 833, his own drinking-horn to the abbey of Croyland: Ut senes monasterii bibant inde in festis sanctorum, et in suis benedictionibus memin-

country, to be in brothership with religious houses, far from abating had become even stronger; nor was the ritual use of the wassail bowl at their solemn thanksgivings after dinner laid aside in monasteries; but we find our bishops, our nobles, and our common people still seeking such fellowship;[2] and sometimes as his offering, on the day he was admitted, a bishop gave to the house which granted him a place in their brotherhood, a splendid bowl,[3] under the very same feelings of the older

erint aliquando animæ Vuitlafii donatoris.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. i, p. 305; and though we may suspect the genuineness of this document as a charter, there can be no doubt but it truly represents Anglo-Saxon customs.

[2] Among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, there is "Catalogus Benefactorum, et omnium eorum qui in plenam fraternitatem monasterii S. Albani usque ad annum MCCCCLXIII recepti erant."—*Nero*, D. vii. Piers Plouhman talks of some men who might "be founde in fraternite of alle fyve ordres."—*Passus Decimus*, at the end.

[3] Such was the gift which Thomas de Hatfield, bishop of Durham, A.D. 1350, made to St. Alban's abbey: Ejus precibus et ob præclara merita frater effectus (Thomas de Hatfield, episcopus Dunelmensis) nostri capituli totius assensu conventus, annuum assecutus est post fata officium mortuorum. Qui etiam die quo suscepit nostri capituli beneficium, dedit conventui cyphum suum murreum quem Wesheyl nostris temporibus appellamus. (*Catal. benefac. et omnium eorum qui in plenam fraternitatem accepti erant. MS. Cotton*, Nero, D. vii, fol. 87.) Not many years ago, in Germany as well as Belgium, this custom was still kept

Anglo-Saxons—that he might be thought of in the prayers of those monks who should ever drink out of it at grace-time.

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up, of sending round the loving-cup at grace after dinner; and to those who devoutly took part in the rite, the bulls of Pope Boniface VIII and Pope Eugene IV, offered an indulgence, as the Bollandists tell us while referring to what the Scotch used to call "St. Margaret's draught": Simile quid, post dictas gratias, surgentes convivæ in Germania et Belgio faciunt "ad lucrandas," ut ajunt "Indulgentias Bonifacii Papæ"; fortassis VIII, qui an. 1300 jubilæi solennitatem instauravit, amplissimas largitus Indulgentias. In chronicis autem Antverpiensibus... legitur quod anno 1430 "factus est Papa Eugenius IV qui dierum xl indulgentias concessit, post dictas a mensa gratias potaturis": sed conditio subesse putatur, ut haustus hic immediate sequatur gratias, atque ultimus sit. (*AA. SS. Junii*, t. ii, p. 332.) Such a practice, on the Continent, was observed by lay folks at their dinners, as well as by the clergy.

In the Catholic days of England, all clubs, then known under the name of "gilds," being associations formed more for spiritual than worldly purposes, bore the stamp of our olden faith on each one of their statutes; and borrowed from the Church's ritual, among other pious observances, the use, at their feasts, of the loving cup. As these gilds, however, were made up, in by far the greater part, of lay folks, it was not a thing of so much ease, as at the table of a religious community, to hinder, amid such secular brotherhoods of tradesmen, any excess in drinking while handing round this wassail bowl. His vows bound the monk to be temperate and sparing in what he ate and drank; he lived under the eye of superiors who could see, and must

To fulfil their friends' and benefactors' holy behests, and to know the true time when, as the

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have punished, the slightest breach in this wholesome discipline. Not so the gild-brother. Here, then, our holy religion stepped in, and wisely strove to make her voice be heard after another fashion. She bethought herself of this loving-cup as the very hindrance of drunkenness at gild-feasts; and therefore, while she, mother-like, sanctioned harmless merrymaking, and tried to awaken feelings of brotherly kindness between high and low, rich and poor, among her common children whom she joyed to bring together, she bestowed out of her treasures a spiritual gift, in the shape of an "indulgence" of so many days, upon those who, being truly sorrowful for their sins, should sparingly and soberly drink out of the loving cup. This we learn from several documents of English ecclesiastical antiquity. In the British Museum there is, among the Lansdowne Manuscripts, the original register book (marked 403), which once belonged to the gild of Corpus Christi, at York; and its inventory of precious things, while describing its mazer bowl, tells that Archbishop Scrope granted an indulgence of forty days' pardon to those who drank out of this cup under these conditions following: Unus ciphus magnus de murro cum ligatura plana ex argento deaurata, qui videlicet ciphus indulgencialis digno nomine censetur, et hac de causa. . . . Beatæ quidem memoriæ Dominus Ricardus Scrop, quondam archiepiscopus Eboraci, vere penitentibus et confessis qui de hoc cipho sobrietamine cum moderamine et non excessive nec ad voluptatem mente pura potaverit, quadraginta dies indulgenciæ contulit graciose. (*Memoirs of York, by the Archæological Institute*, p. 25.) These "mazers" are shallow bowls

year came round, each one's anniversary ought to be solemnized, in every church and minster was kept

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of wood, light, thin, and mostly quite black, which sets off the rim and mountings of silver, oftentimes gilt, extremely well. An indulgenced mazer-bowl came, very properly, to be treated with a certain share of religious respect, and always employed in a pious manner on being brought out, which happened at those high festivals only when the brethren dined together in their own gild-hall. There, as soon as the banquet was quite over, the warden, filling this loving-cup of theirs with choice wine, or with hippocras, or with mead, drank first, then sent it round the board, as a pledge of brotherly good-will, each toward the other; for all, without distinction of age, wealth, or rank, to have a small draught out of it. This done, the gild-priest arose; all stood up; a thanksgiving was made; the souls of their dead brothers were prayed for; each member of the gild went his way, and there was no more drinking. Though, through a spirit of abnegation, some members of a religious body might have wished to mortify themselves, and send round this loving-cup without taking even one little sip out of it, there were occasions upon which this self-denial was forbidden; and each one, without exception, was, by the statutes of the house, commanded to take a draught of this bowl like the rest. So far did it come to be looked upon by our forefathers, that drinking, though but a drop, out of the same cup, was a pledge of brotherly love, and a proof of kindly feeling one towards the other. Hence, among the rules for St. Bartholomew's Hospital, at Sandwich, do we find this ancient enactment: Omni die Dominica post prandium, solent convenire fratres et sorores in aulam dicti hospitalis; et magister dabit eis *id.* et quelibet

a book wherein were written the names as well as the dying day of those for the good of whose souls

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persona dabit i*q.*, et habebunt unam ollam plenam seruicie, et sic bibent pariter ad nutriendum amorem inter se; et hoc facient coacti per magistrum, si adesse noluerint. Post decessum suum dicent orationes suas pro fundatoribus, et adjutoribus, et benefactoribus ipsius domus, et pro omnibus fidelibus vivis et defunctis.—*Ex Lib. Custumali Villæ Sandwici*, ed. Boys, *Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 89.

Of the several mazer-bowls still in existence, though only a few are indulgenced, all show, in the inscription running round the edge, a something that speaks of religion. In the vestry at York cathedral, there is a fine one, unto which Archbishop Scrope and another bishop had each granted an indulgence of xl. days, as the writing, pounced on the outside of the silver-gilt rim, tells us: ✠ Recharde arche beschope Scrope grantis on to alle tho that drinkis of this cope xl^{ti} dayis to pardune. Robert Gubsune Beschope musm grantis in same forme afore saide xl^{ti} dayis to pardune Robart Strensalle." Which legend, as well as a wood-cut of this loving-cup itself, may be seen accurately figured in the *Memoirs of York*, etc. p. 25. When Drake wrote his fine work on York, this very bowl was still there, in the possession of the cordwainers' company; and every feast-day, after dinner, it used to be filled with spiced ale, and, according to ancient custom, it was drunk round among them. (*Eboracum*, p. 439.) Some readers, perhaps, may not be aware that this "pardon of forty days" was understood, both by people and clergy, to be a forgiveness, on the church's side, of just so much time out of those many years of penance, which, by the ecclesiastical canons, a person, through his sins, would have had

prayers were to be said, alms bestowed, and the Eucharistic sacrifice offered up. Such a register of the dead was sometimes called "the Album",[4]

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to undergo before he could be restored to his forfeited communion with the church. This is clear from the wording of indulgences granted by the prelates of this country while it was Catholic. In the year 1252, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, says: Omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui ad ecclesiam Beati Petri de Burgo causa devocionis et ob venerationem beati Oswaldi regis et martyris cujus sanctissime reliquie continentur ibidem, accesserint, et de bonis a Deo sibi collatis grata caritatis subsidia loco tam pio gratiose duxerint conferenda quadraginta dies de injuncta sibi penitentia misericorditer relaxamus. (*Gunton's Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 346.) This "quadraginta dies de injuncta sibi penitentia misericorditer relaxamus" is the common form which is to be found in almost all grants of indulgences issued by our old English bishops. In the *Pupilla Oculi* of John de Burgo, or Borough, fol. 57, may be found a long chapter ("De penitentiis a jure statutis,"—cap. xiii), by which we see that, for one sin, a ten years' penance is inflicted, at the beginning of which the penitent is to be "sacco indutus, et humi prostratus, nocte dieque misericordiam Dei imploret; jugiter tribus mensibus continuis a vespera usque ad vesperam pane et aqua utatur, etc.

[4] Sed, et me defuncto, pro redemtione animæ meæ, quasi familiaris et vernaculi vestri, orare, et missas facere, et nomen meum inter vestra scribere dignemini. Nam et tu, sanctissime antistes, hoc te mihi promisisse jam retines, in cujus etiam testimonio futuræ conscriptionis religioso fratri vestro Gudfrido mansionario præcipisti, ut in albo

sometimes "the Annal",[5] but oftener, both here[6] and abroad,[7] "the Book of Life"; and, in all likelihood, the whole of Christendom cannot show one so valuable and interesting, whether the length

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vestræ sanctæ congregationis meum nunc quoque nomen opponeret.—*S. Bedæ, Op. Hist.* t. ii, p. 47, ed. Stevenson.

[5] Quærant in suis codicibus, in quibus defunctorum est annotata depositio, et invenient illum hac, ut diximus, die raptum esse de seculo. . . . . presbyter statim egressus requisivit in Annali suo, et invenit eadem die Osualdum regem fuisse peremtum.—*Bedæ, Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, c. xiv, p. 281.

[6] Answering to this title *Liber Vitæ*, there is now in the British Museum, *Domitian* VII, the precious codex which once belonged to Durham, and was begun by the monks there in the ninth century, and reaches down to Henry the Eighth's apostasy. The idea of the *Book of Life*, as well as the expression, are both borrowed from St. Paul, *Phill.* iv.

[7] Bertrand, the eleventh bishop of Le Mans, in the will which he made, A.D. 615, speaks more than once of the *Liber Vitæ*, which it was the custom in those days to keep, for the enrolment of benefactors' names, in every church throughout France: "Rogo," says the holy man, "abba illustris loci illius, ut nomen meum in libro vitæ recitetur."—*Test. Bertichramni*, apud Mabillon, *Vet. Analect.* p. 257; again, after having bequeathed certain monies to each of several churches at Le Mans, he thus earnestly begs: Illud vero specialiter rogo, ut in superscripta loca, . . . nomen meum ac sacerdotes illorum in libro vitæ jubeant adscribere, et per singulas festivitates recitari. — *Ibid.* p. 263.

of years through which it runs back, the richness with the beauty of its writing in gold and silver in the early part of it, or the ritual solemnity with which the olden usage was to guard this codex, be looked at, as the "Book of Life" that formerly belonged to the cathedral of Durham. "There did lay", writes one who probably had seen what he tells of, on the high altar (of Durham cathedral) an excellent fine book, very richly covered with gold and silver, containing the names of all the benefactors towards St. Cuthbert's church from the very original foundation thereof, the very letters of the book being, for the most part, all gilt, as is apparent in the said book till this day. The laying that book on the high altar did show how highly they esteemed their founders and benefactors; and the quotidian remembrance they had of them in the time of Mass and divine service, and this did argue, not only their gratitude, but also a most divine and charitable affection to the souls of their benefactors, as well dead as living."[8] Like their

[8] *The Antiquities of Durham*, p. 20. This manuscript, as was said just now, is in the British Museum among the Cotton MSS., under the shelf-mark *Domitian* VII: At the very beginning, but in much later scription, we read that "ordo et methodus hujus libri nihil aliud est quam annualis commemoratio in sacrificio Missæ animarum defunctarum omnium benefactorum et benefactarum erga monasticam ecclesiam beatissimi patris Cuthberti, etc. Its beautiful binding of gold and silver has been torn away,

brethren in the faith throughout every other part of Christendom at that period as well as now, so among the Anglo-Saxons, the Eucharistic sacrifice was never offered up but what they prayed to Heaven in an especial manner for their friends and benefactors, alive and dead.[9] On Sundays and high

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and lost. It has been lately edited by the Rev. J. Stevenson, for the Surtees Society.

[9] Thus is it that Sigebald, seemingly an abbot, as he calls himself, "ultimus famulorum Dei famulus," writing from this country to Abp. Boniface, tells him he has put his name down among the bishops here, that along with them he may be prayed for at Mass, especially each time he himself, Sigebald, offers up the holy Sacrifice: Notum sit tibi, quod ex eo tempore nomen tuum adscriptum habuissem, cum Missarum solemnia celebrarem simul cum nominibus episcoporum nostrorum, et modo non cesso quamdiu subsistam; et si supervixero tibi, cum nomine patris nostri Erenwaldi episcopi tuum adscribo nomen.—*S. Bonifacii, Op.* t. i, p. 69, ed. Giles. Proofs of the same holy fellowship, kept up between the Anglo-Saxons and their countrymen abroad, are many. Cynehard writes thus to Lull, an Anglo-Saxon missioner in Germany: Et hoc profitemur, quod omnia quæ tua Sanctitate suggerente, mandata sunt, studiosissime, Domino favente, complere satagimus, non tantum in spirituali orationum solatio exhibendo, et missarum solemnitate celebranda pro vobis, et pro illis, qui in vestris regionibus in Christi concessione obeunt, etc. . . . . Nomina quoque presbyterorum vestrorum diaconorumque ac monachorum, vel monacharum sive cæterorum, quæ misistis, per monasteria et per ecclesias nostræ diœcesis direximus ad celebranda pro eis missarum

festivals, all present were asked to join in these supplications: no sooner had those who chose brought their gifts to the altar at that part of the Mass, called from such a rite the "offertory", than was read, most likely by the deacon from the "ambo", out of what used anciently to be called the diptychs, but in latter times the bead-roll, a list of those living friends in ghostly fellowship with that particular church, and of such as had that day helped it by their offerings; then followed the names of the dead on whose souls the people were begged earnestly to call down God's fatherly forgiveness.[10] But this was not all: if we may

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solemnia, et orationum suffragia. Id ipsum facere vestram Sanctitatem suppliciter exoramus pro eis, quorum nomina vobis habemus dirigenda et nominatim cum personis suis scribenda, eorum scilicet, qui mihi proprie atque huic ecclesiæ, cui servio, amicissimi, vel subditi fiebant, vel prælati.—*Cynehardus Lullo, S. Bonifacii Op.* t. i, pp. 224, 225, ed. Giles.

[10] By the old Anglo-Saxon canons, a penance of forty days' length was to be undergone by the deacon who should forget to bring up to the altar the oblation—the unleavened bread, and the chalice holding the wine mingled with a little water—until the altar-cloth was brought, and the names of the dead had been read: Diaconus obliviscens oblationem offerre, donec offeratur linteamen, quando recitantur nomina pausantium, similiter (quadraginta dies) pœniteat.—*Theodori Cap. et Frag.*—*Ancient Laws*, etc. *of England*, ed. Thorpe, t. ii, p. 75. This archbishop of Canterbury's discipline not only shows that the names of the

judge from the ritual practised among their neighbours on the shores of France, here as there, a

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dead—of those who had fallen asleep in the Lord—were read up aloud just about offertory time, that they might be afterwards prayed for at the holy Sacrifice, but leads us to draw from it that the deacon it was who gave out those names, and in a place too away from the altar, so that, should he ever forget to set the paten with the bread, and the chalice with the wine at the altar, that they might be ready to be immediately put upon the linen corporal as soon as outspread upon the holy table, before he went up into the "ambo" for the reading of the diptychs or bead-roll, the celebrant would be hindered from going on with the more solemn portion of the Mass until this deacon came back again to do that part of his ministry he had left out. In some places abroad, it was neither from the "ambo" nor by the deacon that these names used to be recited, but by the subdeacons standing behind the altar: Subdiaconi a retro altari ubi memoriam vel nomina vivorum et mortuorum nominaverunt, vel recitaverunt, procedunt, etc.—*Codex Ratoldi*, ed. Menard, *D. Gregorii Lib. Sacram*, p. 264; and in *Collectio post nomina* in the *Missale Gothicum*, ed. Mabillon, *De Litur. Gal.* p. 235, we find: Et hos quos recitatio commemoravit ante sanctum altare, etc.

The Anglo-Saxon early custom of reading out the names, both of the living and the dead, just after the offertory, was at that period likewise followed throughout France; for, in all the old liturgies once in use, there is to be found a collect to be said immediately before the Preface, and entitled *Collectio post nomina*, the wording of which is full of Catholic belief. From the Gothic Missal

subdeacon, at the place in the canon of the Mass whereat the dead are individually to be prayed for, whispered into the ear of the sacrificing priest the

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we select the following: Auditis nominibus offerentum, Fratres dilectissimi, Christum Dominum deprecemur .... ut hæc Sacrificia sic viventibus proficiant ad emendationem, ut defunctis opitulentur ad requiem, etc.—*Missale Gothicum*, ed. Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gal.* p. 201; suscipe (Domine) jejunantium preces cum libatione præsenti, defunctis refrigerium, superstitibus indulgentiam donans, per eam placatus: et nomina quorum sunt distincte vocata, figere in scriptione sempiterna digneris (*ibid.* p. 233); Auditis nominibus offerentum, debita cum veneratione beatissimorum Apostolorum, et Martyrum, omniumque Sanctorum commemoratione decursa, et offerentum et pausantium commemoremus nomina: ut æternalibus indita paginis, sanctorum cœtibus adgregentur (*ibid.* p. 255); Domine .... recitata nomina cælesti chirographo in libro vitæ jubeas adscribi, etc. (*ibid.* p. 232); Recitatis nominibus offerentum, fratres carissimi, omnipotentis Dei misericordiam deprecemur .... ac sicut ille (beatus Sinfurianus Martyr) post carceris septa, post pœnarum ligamina, postque famis inediam, æternitatis gaudia infinita perfruitur; ita defunctorum animæ, laxatis inferni pressuris Abrahæ patris gremio conlocentur, etc. (*ibid.* p. 280). In the *Missale Francorum*, this collect is rubricked *super oblata*; but in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, it keeps its old name, *Collectio post Nomina.* Auditis nominibus offerentum Fratres dilectissimi, omnipotentem Deum supplicemus .... ut acceptio benedicti corporis et sacri poculi prælibata communio defunctis opituletur ad requiem; viventibus proficiat ad salutem.—*Ibid.* p. 365.

names of those whom he was bound more especially to remember.[11] To do this correctly, the subdeacon

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[11] That such was the rubric, in France, up to the tenth century, we gather from the following accidental notice of it by Fulcuinus, abbot of Lobes, A.D. 965: Remis nuper cum fuissemus et cum viro venerabili .... Adalberone archiepiscopo confabularemur.... Dixit episcopus.... prædecessorum suorum ductam usque ad se consuetudinem, ut inter Missarum solemnia in ea speciali commemoratione defunctorum quæ supra diptyca dicitur, et in consecratione Domini corporis solemniter agitur, quotidie in aurem presbyteri recitante silenter subdiacono, omnium ipsius sedis nomina scripto viritim recitentur episcoporum.—*Gesta Lobiensium*, auct. Fulcuino abbate, ed. D'Achery, *Spicil.* t. ii, p. 733.

Both by the deacon in the "ambo," and the subdeacon at the altar, these names of the dead were recited either out of a book like the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, or from long narrow sheets of vellum, stitched one to the other, that unrolled. Being used so conspicuously at the public service of the Church, this representative of the ancient diptychs, like them, must have had, in many of the larger minsters of this country, a magnificent covering of some kind bestowed upon it. If a roll, a case of ivory, nicely carved, very likely held it; if a book, it was bound between two solid plates of silver, parcel gilt, with figures wrought upon them. A Spanish prelate, Bishop Rudesind, dying A.D. 978, bequeathed to a church of his building: Diptagos argenteos imaginatos et deauratos, calices argenteos exauratos tres. (*Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito*, ed. Yepez, t. v, fol. 424A), and the Durham *Book of Life* was bound in silver and gold, we know from some verses written by a later hand on one of its leaves.

must have had the book or scroll upon which those names were written, lying open before him. As time crept on, it brought with it to almost every church a number of benefactors, till at last, in most places, they often amounted unto thousands, and to go through all their names would have taken up a whole morning. Besides then the founders and the chiefest friends of each minster, no one else was always prayed for individually in the liturgy; no others' names were read out but of those whose anniversary or year's mind fell upon that very Sunday or festival, or within the past week; thus each, as the seasons went round, was remembered in his turn once during every twelve months. To let, however, all their benefactors, dead and living, have their share in the prayers of the clergy, the "Book of Life" or the "bead-roll", as it might be, was ever kept upon the altar, so that at all the Masses, whether high or low, said thereat, the priest, after a formal manner set forth in the liturgy, begged of God to look down from heaven with loving kindness upon the souls of all those whose names were written in that list which lay before his eyes.[12]

[12] The so-called *Durham Ritual* presents us with several forms of prayer in behalf of the dead; and the following collect will shew that, while the Anglo-Saxons believed that both angels and men could, by their intercession with God, much help the souls of the departed, at the same time the ritual usage of that people was to keep, either on the

From the practice of reading up, at offertory time, in each church, the names of its especial

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altar itself, or very near it, a written list of such as were to be more especially remembered, so that their names might be easily set before the sacrificing priest at mass: Ascendant ad te, Domine, preces nostras (*sic*) intercedentibus omnibus sanctis agminibus angelorum ut anime famulorum tuorum famularumque tuarum quorum et quarum nomina hic sunt conscripta, gaudia æterna suscipiant, ut quos fecisti adoptionis participes, jubeas hereditatis tuæ esse consortes, Per. (*Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*, ed. Stevenson, p. 157.) At low mass, on week days, may have, even then, been adopted the custom followed at Durham and elsewhere in this country, as well as in some places abroad, of always having the bead-roll, or *Liber Vitæ* (the Book of Life), lying upon the altar. In such a way could the priest be reminded to pray over the holy sacrifice for all those, in general, whose names were written down therein. When the benefactors and brethren amounted, as may be seen in the Durham *Book of Life*, to many hundreds,—nay, thousands,—such an expedient became absolutely necessary. With regard to this early use in the western parts of the church, there can be no doubt; for, in the very old Bobbio Missal now in the Ambrosian library at Milan, the collect for the "Missa pro vivis et defunctis" points to it: Majestatem tuam, clementissime Pater, exoramus pro fratribus et sororibus nostris seu omnibus benefactoribus nostris, vel qui se in nostris orationibus conmendaverunt, tam pro vivis, quam et solutis debito mortis, quorum eleëmosynas erogandas suscepimus, vel quorum animas ad memorandum conscripsimus, vel quorum nomina super sanctum altarium scripta adest evi-

benefactors, particularly the dead, and of asking the people gathered there about the altar to pray for the health and welfare of the living, and earnestly beg of Heaven its forgiveness on the souls of the departed, there grew out a ritual observance called

BIDDING THE BEADS.[13]

This may be looked upon as one of the most

denter, etc. (*Sacram. Gallic.* ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. i, p. 363.) The *Liber Sacramentorum S. Gregorii P.*—a manuscript of the ninth century, in the cathedral library at Cologne, Codex 88D,—has, at the beginning of the canon of the mass, this sentence on the margin: Et eorum quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus ac super sanctum altare tuum scripta adesse videntur. Again, in the letters of holy brotherhood between the canons of Laôn and the monks of St. Remigius, A.D. 928, it is agreed that: Nomen quoque fratris in catalogo defunctorum annotetur, sacro altari tempore sacrificii superponendum. (Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 161), and Ordericus Vitalis, an Englishman, who was a monk, c. A.D. 1123, of St. Evroul's at Uzez, in Normandy, tells us of such a custom, as it was observed in that house: In rotulo quidem longissimo omnium fratrum, dum vocante Deo ad ordinem veniunt nomina scribuntur: deinde patrum et matrum eorum fratrumque ac sororum vocabula subscribuntur. Qui rotulus penes aram toto anno servatur, et sedula commemoratio inscriptorum in conspectu Domini agitur, dum ei a sacerdote in celebratione dicitur: *Animas famulorum famularumque tuarum quorum nomina ante sanctum altare tuum scripta adesse videntur, electorum tuorum jungere digneris consortio.*—Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii, p. 487.

beautiful amid the liturgical usages known to our country, and was a rite which, beginning very early

[13] Answering to that part of our public service called "bidding the beads," and observed in the ritual of this island both before and after the coming hither of the Normans, are those prayers, set forth in all the Eastern liturgies, to be said at the reading of the diptychs, as may be seen in that valuable work, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, edited by Renaudot, who has given a good sketch of the subject, t. i, p. 253, *ibid.*

With regard to the ritual of the Latin part of the church on this point, from St. Austin's words (*Epist. ad Januarium*, op. t. ii, Ep. 55, p. 127), we catch what must have been the African usage at the very beginning (A.D. 400) of the fifth century; and a sermon of St. Cæsarius of Arles lets us see the practice, during the sixth, of Gaul, where, it would appear by an expression in the sixth canon of the Council of Lyons, A.D. 517, it was called the "people's prayer", and said after the gospel, "oratio plebis quæ post evangelium legitur". (*Concil. Gen.* ed. Binio, t. iv, p. 1585.) Ivo of Chartres, A.D. 1092, in his *Decretale*, parte ii, cap. 120, quotes from some council of Orleans, a canon which shews the bidding prayer in France to have been, in substance, precisely what it was among our Anglo-Saxons; and a very old form of the prayer itself, as used at Arles, is given from the ancient diptychs belonging to the church of St. Aurelius in that city, at the end of the *Regula S. Aurelii*, ed. Brockie, *Codex Reg.* t. i, p. 154. For Germany, we have Regino, abbot of Prome, who says that the following should be the way of making, after the sermon at mass, every Sunday and holyday, this very prayer: Oportet ut in diebus festis vel Dominicis, post sermonem

among the Anglo-Saxons, they kept up with all due care, and afterwards became followed with equal exactness by the Salisbury and every other

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inter Missarum solemnia habitum ad plebem, sacerdos admoneat ut juxta apostolicam institutionem, orationem omnes in commune pro diversis necessitatibus fundant ad Dominum pro regibus, et rectoribus ecclesiarum, pro pace, pro peste, pro infirmis qui in ipsa parroechia lecto decumbunt, pro nuper defunctis; in quibus singillatim precibus plebs orationem Dominicam sub silentio dicat; sacerdos vero orationes ad hoc pertinentes per singulas admonitiones sollemniter expleat. Ait enim apostolus: Obsecro primùm omnium fieri orationes, obsecrationes, gratiarum actiones, etc. (*Regino Abb. Prumiensis, De Ecc. Discipl.* ed. Baluzio, p. 95.)

At the "prône", or discourse, delivered at the parish mass in all the churches throughout France, there used to be, not long ago, if not as yet, said a form of prayer, answering in every respect to our old "bidding the beads". That we Catholics of England should have ever left off our Salisbury, York, and other venerable missals and breviaries, and laid aside our fine old national uses and ritual—among the rest, the "bidding of the beads"—is deeply to be lamented. Let us hope, however, that, ere long, a rite which was practised most likely by the Britons, certainly by the Anglo-Saxons, the Anglo-Normans, and the English, till the end of Mary's reign, may once more be taken up and put to fill its old place in the public worship of the Catholics of England, so that our people, as of yore, may all join their priest and say along with him, before he begins his sermon, the truly Catholic petitions of the "bidding prayer."

Use throughout this kingdom until the latest hour the olden faith was acknowledged as the national belief. In carrying his gift at offering-time to God's altar, the Anglo-Saxon was taught to leave it there in behalf, not merely of himself and kinsfolks, but also for the good of those souls of the dead whose names were written down upon the bead-roll[14] just read out; and to help him in doing what she bade, the Church told him to join her in a prayer framed especially for the purpose set forth, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in Anglo-Saxon, after this manner:

Oremus fratres karissimi Domini misericordiam pro fratribus ac sororibus nostris ab oriente usque ad occidentem, ut et illi orent pro nobis unusquisque in diversis locis per Xp̃m Dominum nostrum.

Oremus etiam pro unitate æcclesiarum, pro infirmis, pro debilibus, pro captivis, pro pœnitentibus, pro laborantibus, pro navigantibus, pro iter agentibus, pro elemosinas facientibus, pro defunctorum spiritibus, et pro his qui non communicant ut det illis Dominus dignam agere pœnitentiam per Xp̃m Dn̄um n̄rum.

Oremus etiam Domini misericordiam pro spiritibus carorum nostrorum pausantium ill. ut eis Dominus placidum refrigerium tribuere dignetur, et in loco quietis ac refri-

[14] In one of those Anglo-Saxon manuscripts lost to the Cotton collection by fire, and marked *Galba A.* 14, might be seen this rubric: Ðis gebed man sceal singan aet offrunga for hine sylfne. 7 for his broðor. 7 for gespysterna. 7 for ealle þam þe he on gebedraedenne biþ. and for eal Cristen folc.—*Wanley, Cat.* p. 231.

gerii sanctorum suorum intercessione eos transferret per Jhm Xpm Dnm.

Offerimus tibi Dne Jhu Xpe hanc orationem ab ortu solis usque ad occidentem, a dextera usque ad sinistram, in honorem et gloriam divinitatis Xpi et humanitatis, in honorem et gloriam omnium graduum cœlestium, Michaelem, Gabrielem archangelum, in honorem et gloriam patriarcharum, apostolorum, ac martyrum, pro omnibus virginibus, fidelibus, pœnitentibus, pro omnibus matrimoniis, pro bonis non valde, pro malis non valde, pro omnibus merentibus orationem et deprecationem ĩram.

Such is the form of bidding prayer once employed at Winchester cathedral before St. Osmund framed his Use for Salisbury; and it has been handed down to us in Leofric's Missal, a codex containing by far the most precious monument of the Anglo-Saxon liturgy to be found in any of our libraries throughout the whole country:[15] like to it

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[15] This Missal is one of the "ii fulle maesse bec" given by Bishop Leofric, during the Confessor's reign, to Exeter cathedral (*Cod. Dip. Ang.-Sax.* t. iv, p. 275); and by every liturgical student, British or foreign, will be looked upon as one of the most precious among the numerous valuable manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, where it is marked *Bod.* 579. This codex, the reader should be told, consists of two distinct parts, though both are bound up together now as they were even in Leofric's time; the first part consists of the thirty-eight leaves at the beginning of the volume, and contains fragments of the liturgy thrown together without any arrangement; the second part, commencing at folio xxxviii with the Kalendar, is, properly speaking,

in meaning, although drawn up in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, is the following bidding of the beads, copied out of a fine manuscript of the four Gospels, which seems to have at one time belonged to the church of Sherbourne, but is now at York minster.[16]

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the "full Mass-book". Though so called, this manuscript contains several services peculiar to a bishop's ministration, and, as such, are now to be found only in the Pontifical.

The above Latin bidding prayer comes among the fragments (fol. xiii), which seem by the writing to be many of them as early as, some even earlier than, the Missal itself, which is of the tenth century, as was observed before (t. i, p. 84). This prayer, along with the other leaves in the beginning of the codex, was written, I suspect, by the monks of Winchester, to use in their own minster; for in the *Missa Generalis pro vivis et defunctis* (fol. xx, b.); comes the following part of a prayer: et locum n̄rm et familiā beatissime dī genetricis Marie necnon et sc̄i Petri ap̄li atque sc̄i Suuithuni c̄fessoris Xpi et omnia loca sanctorum in omni sanctitate custodi, etc. Winchester cathedral was dedicated to God in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Peter, and soon after the death of St. Swithin, who had been bishop of that great southern see, his memory was held in high esteem there.

[16] At York cathedral, in the record-room next to the consistory court, there is a Latin copy of the Gospels, or, as the Anglo-Saxons well called it, a "Christ's Book", finely written and illuminated with the emblems of the four Evangelists, one at the beginning of each gospel, St. John's excepted: at the end are bequests of land, also "Sermo Lupi" in Anglo-Saxon, another discourse in Anglo-Saxon, but with this heading: "Nemo Xpianorum paganos

Þitan we gebiddan god ealmihtme heofina cyning 7 Sca marian 7 ealbe godes halgan þaet we moton godes ælmihtiges ƿillan geƿyrcan, etc. Pāt. nr.

Þittan we gebiddan for urne papan on rome 7 for urne cyning 7 for ne arceb 7 forne ealdon man, etc. Pāt. ñr.

Þittan we gebiddan forure godsybbas 7 for ure cumæðgan 7 for ure gildan 7 gilds preostra 7 ealles thaes folces gebed the thas halgan stowe mid aelmesan seceð mid lihte mid tigeðmge 7 for ealle þaþepe oefre heora aelmessan befonde paeron aerlife and aefter life. Pāt. ñr.

For for ... erþer (forþfaeþer?) saule bidde pe Pāt ñr. 7 for meilmere saule 7 for ealle þa saula þefulluhe(?) underpengan 7 on Crist ȝelyfdan from Adames daege to þissum daege. Pāt. ñr.

At the end of these prayers, no doubt it was that a list of the dead used to be read from the "Book of Life", and the worshippers present were asked to commend unto God's mercy, in particular and by name,—1, such as had endowed that church expressly on the agreement of being for ever afterwards so remembered;[17] 2, those whose anniver-

superstitiones intendat", etc., and another, "A Xpto enim Christiani sunt nominati", etc. From an inventory of church plate beginning thus—Þiſ ſyndon þa cyrican madmas on Shirburnon, etc., there can be no doubt this Evangelistarium once belonged to Shirbourne minster, and may have been one of the "twa Xpes bec" entered after. The Anglo-Saxon bidding prayer in the text may be seen in this codex.

[17] To help clothe the bishop and monks of Winchester, Æthelwolf the ealderman bequeathed, A.D. 945, twelve hides of land, on condition that they put him down in their

sary fell about that time; and 3, every one who had died in that parish or neighbourhood within the week just passed. This catalogue of the dead, given out to be prayed for on Sundays, began during the Anglo-Saxon, and continued all through the English and Norman periods of our Church history, to be called "the bead-roll". Bidding the beads therefore consisted of these two parts: in the first place, prayers were said for the different personages in church and state in general and who were living; in the second, for certain private individuals in particular who were dead.

Helping as it did to knit, through the ties of a ghostly kindred, all the inhabitants, high and low, of this country into one great household like brethren—to link the present with the past, and bring back the dead to live for ever in the pious remembrance of their surviving countrymen—to bind all three parts of God's Church with one another, by teaching the faithful on earth to ask the saints in heaven for their intercession, and to beg God's forgiveness on the souls in purgatory—those poor souls not as yet clean enough to go where nought defiled can enter, this liturgical practice was quite as much heeded and cared for by St. Osmund, and his fellow-Normans, as ever it had

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bead-roll: ðа twelf hida, to scrudfultume, ðaet hi me on heora gebeddredenne haebben.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. v. p. 333.

been among the Anglo-Saxons; and it continued to be followed throughout the land till the end of Mary's reign.[18]

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[18] The xxiij day of July (A.D. 1554) dyd pryche at Powlles crosse master Harpfeld, and he dyd pray in ys bedes for the kyng and quene, Phelipe and Mare, by the grace of God kyng and quene of England, etc. (*The Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 66, edited by J. G. Nichols for the Camden Society.) Again: The ix day of Desember dyd pryche at Poulles cross doctur Borne, bysshope of Bathe, and prayd for the pope of Rome (Julius the thurde), and for alle the solles of purgatory (*ib.* p. 78). After Henry VIII had apostatized, by setting himself up as the head of the Church in England, among other things he kept was the bidding prayer, for which he sent out the form following: "This is an order taken for preaching and bidding of beads in all sermons to be made within this realm. First, whosoever shall preach in the presence of the king's highness .... shall, in the bidding of beads, pray for the whole Catholic Church of Christ, as well quick as dead ..... Item, the preachers in all places of this realm, not in the presence of the king's said highness .... shall, in the bidding of the beads, pray first .... as is above ordained and limited, adding thereunto in the second part for all archbishops and bishops, and for the whole clergy of this realm, and specially such as the preacher shall name of his devotion: and thirdly for all dukes, earls, marquisses, and for all the whole temporalitie of this realm, and specially such as the preacher shall name for devotion; and finally, for the souls of all them that be dead, and specially for such as it shall please the preacher to name.—*Wilkins, Concil.* t. iv, p. 783; see also p. 808, *ibid.*

According to the Salisbury rubric, this bidding prayer was every Sunday to be given out in cathedral and collegiate churches, by the celebrant standing in front of the rood-loft and before the western doorway of the choir, at the procession for sprinkling the holy water; in parish churches, after the Gospel, and either from before an altar, or from the pulpit.[19] Though always the very same

[19] ¶ Quando vero venerit processio ante magnam crucem in ecclesia . . . . vertat se sacerdos ad populum et dicat in lingua materna sic: *Oremus pro ecclesia Anglicana, et pro rege nostro, et archiepiscopis, episcopis, et specialiter pro episcopo nostro N., et pro decano vel rectore huius ecclesiæ* (scilicet in ecclesiis parochialibus), *et pro terra sancta, pro pace ecclesiæ et terræ et regina et suis liberis*, et cetera more solito. Deinde vertat se sacerdos et dicat istum psalmum, *Deus misereatur*, ex utraque parte chori more solito sine nota, ex parte chori principali incipiatur. Finito psalmo cum *Gloria Patri* et *Sicut erat*, sequatur *Kyrie eleison. Xpe. eleison. Kyrie eleison. Pr. nr.* Deinde dicat sacerdos in audientia sed sine nota: *Et ne nos. Sed libe. Ostende nobis Dne. misericordiam tuam. Et salutare tuum da nobis. Sacerdotes tui induant iustitiam. Et sancti tui exultent. Dne. salvum fac regem. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. Salvum fac populum tuum. Et rege eos et extolle illos usque in eternum. Dne. fiat pax in virtute tua. Et abundantia in turribus tuis. Dne. exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.*

Deus qui charitatis dona per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infundis, da famulis et famulabus tuis pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam salutem mentis et corporis, ut te tota virtute diligant et que tibi placita sunt tota

in meaning and in substance, the words of the bidding prayer seem to have varied in different

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dilectione perficiant, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus. Per Xpm. Dnm. nrm.

¶ Item conversus ad populum dicat sacerdos in lingua materna: *Oremus pro animabus N. et N., more solito;* et postea vertat se sacerdos et dicat psalmum, *De profundis,* supradicto modo. *Gloria Pri.* cum *Kyrie eleison. Xpe. eleison. Kyrie eleison. Pater nr. Et ne nos. Sed libe. Requiem eternam dona eis, Dne. Et lux perpetua. A porta inferi. Erue, Dne., animas eorum. Credo videre bona Dni. In terra viventium. Dns. vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.*

Absolve qs. Dne. animas famulorum famularumque tuarum parentum, parrochianorum, amicorum, benefactorum nostrorum: et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo delictorum, ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per. Requiescant in pace. Amen. He preces predicte dicuntur supradicto modo omnibus dominicis per annum: sive de dominica sive aliquo festo sit servitium nisi duplex fuerit: et nisi in sexta die a Nativitate Dñi.: et in die Sc̄ti Silvestri si in dominica evenerit: et nisi in dominica Palmarum. Ita tamen quod in ecclesiis parrochialibus, non ad processionem, sed post evangelium et offertorium, supradicto modo dicuntur ante aliquod altare in ecclesia vel in pulpito ad hoc constituto: tamen psalmus *De profundis,* cum versu et oracione *Absolve qs. Dne.,* semper in statione ante crucem in ecclesia supradicto modo .... ut suprà diximus. Finitis precibus intrent chorum, cantore incipiente *Letentur celi et exultet terra,* etc. Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesie Sarum, Londini, A.D. 1555, fol. v. b. In the edition of A.D. 1528,

parts of the country, and perhaps every diocess may have had its own form.[20] The two samples

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instead of "Oremus pro ecclesia Anglicana", the first prayer reads, "pro eeclesia Romana, et pro papa", but in my copy, old Harry VIII's claw has tried to scratch this sentence out by running a pen over it, but in vain; and as the tyrant's ink could not blot away the words, so the persecutions of the law have been unable, though at their hot work for three hundred years, to crush Catholicism in this country.

For giving out the names from the bead-roll, the custom was that the parish should allow a certain yearly stipend: hence we find such as the following entries in old churchwardens' accompts—"to the parissche prest for the redyng of ye bede rolle on ye sondaiis xij*d.* (*Hist. of Sandwich*, by Boys, p. 364.) Individuals, too, bequeathed money to have themselves especially remembered at the Sunday-beads: A.D. 1480, Avery Cornburgh had written upon his grave in Romford church, the following among other verses:—

Moreover this call to your remembrance anon,
That in the beadroll of usage every Sonday redd;
The souls of this Avery, Beatrice, and John
Be prayed for in speciall; se that owr will be spedd
And that the curate of this church curtesly be ledd
And for his labor have in reding of that roll
Forty pens to prey for them and every Christian soul.

(*Weever's Funeral Monuments*, p. 403.) It seems to have been in some places the curate's office to read out the Sunday bead-roll, and the emolument arising from its discharge a part of his benefice: sometimes may be met with a note of the money paid for this service, as for instance: To Maister Darby, for the bederolle for a yere, 2*s.* (*Church-*

which we are going to lay before our readers will, however, be enough to let them hear how the self-

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wardens' Accts. of St. Mary Hill, London, A.D. 1510, Illustrat. etc. by Nichols, p. 105); P^d^ to S^r^ Robert for D'Beyd roylle, 2*s*.—*Ibid.* p. 309.

As the bidding of the beads was, according to the Salisbury rubric, to be made just after the Gospel, it became a usage for the priest, whenever he wanted those who were hearing his Mass to add their supplications along with his own whilst he craved any particular favour from Heaven, to turn round at this part of the holy sacrifice, and telling the people the object of his pious wishes, ask their help, and beg them mingle their cries with his in putting up to God those prayers which he and they forthwith began upon their bended knees. This we gather from the following record, by Reginald the Durham monk, of a miraculous cure wrought at Bellingham church, in North Tyndale, upon a young girl whose hand had been suddenly shrivelled up: Perlecto ad Missam evangelio, idem sacerdos proximorum compatiendo miseriis, præcepit ab omnibus fieri per ecclesiam novies pro ejus (puellæ cujus manus sinistra .... adeo contracta diriguit, quod eam nec producere aut contrahere ullo modo potuerit) sospitate compendium satis notissimum dominicæ orationis. "Hiis", inquiens, "verbis dominicæ doctrinæ Deum venerantes, Sancti Cuthberti clementiam pro hac languente expostulate", etc..... Cujusmodi verbis fideles accensi, preces alacrius effundunt, omnesque talibus affatim eloquiis sacerdotem prosequuntur, et dicunt "Sancte Cuthberte, nunc hujus misellæ miserere, et Dominum exorans", etc..... Novies talibus expletis, ecce venerandus confessor solita sibi clementia pie deprecantibus affuit.... Necdum quidem populus in ecclesia

same Catholic voice which used to bid the beads in Latin, or in Anglo-Saxon words, spoke none other than a like belief while uttering, many hundred years afterwards, those very prayers in English to our fathers. This shorter way of bidding the beads gives us an outline of the form which, it is probable, became adopted, though not in all, yet in many churches within the province of Canterbury.

A SHORTER FORME OR MANNER OF BIDDING THE BEADES.

Masters and frendes, as for holy dayes and fasting dayes ye shal have none thys weke, but that ye maye doe all manner of good workes, that shall bee to the honoure of God, and the profyt of your own soules. And therefore after a laudable consuetude, and a lawfull custome of our mother holy Churche, ye shal knele down movyng your heartes unto Almightye God, and makyng your speciall prayers for the iii estates, concernyng all Christen people; that is to saye, for the Spiritualtye, the Temporaltie, and the soules being in the paynes of purgatorye. Fyrst, for our holy father the Pope with all hys Cardinalls; for all Archebyshops and

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oratione completa de terra surrexerat, etc.—*Reginaldi Dunel. Libellus de Adm. B. Cuthberti*, p. 244.

[20] In *Some Account of Exeter Cathedral*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, with plates, in folio, at p. 11 of the letter-press, is given the old form of bidding prayer used there during the fifteenth century.

byshops, and in especiall for my Lord Archbishop of Canterburye your Metropolitane: and also my Lorde Bishop of this diocesse, N., and in generall for all persons, vicars, and parishe priests having cure of mannes soule, with the ministers of Christes Church, as wel religious, as not religious. Secondly, ye shal pray for the unitie and peace of al Christen Realmes, and specially for the noble Realme of England, for our soveraigne Lord the King, for the Prince, for my Ladye the Kinges Mother, with all their progeneye; and for all the Lordes of the councel, and al other of the nobilitie, which dwell in the contreyes having protection and governaunce of the same, that Almightie God may send them grace so to governe and rule the lande, that it maye bee pleasing unto almightye God, wealth and profyte to the lande, and salvation to their soules.

Also ye shall praye for all those that have honoured the church wyth light, lampe, vestmente, or bell, or with any ornamentes, by the whiche the service of almightye God is the better maintayned and kepte. Furthermore ye shall praye for all true travailers, and tillers of the earth that trulye and duelye done their dutye to God and holye church, as they be bounde to do. Also ye shal pray for al manner of frutes, that be done uppon the grounde, or shal be, that almightye God of hys greate pitye and mercye maye sende suche wederynges that they maye come to the sustenaunce

of man. Ye shall praye also for al those that be in debt or deadly sinne, that almightye God maye give them grace to come oute thereof, and the soner by our prayer. Also ye shall praye for all those that bee sicke or diseased, eyther in body or in soule, that almightye God maye sende them the thing whiche is moste profitable, aswel bodily as ghostly. Also ye shall praye for all pilgrimes and palmers that have taken the way to Rome, to S. James or Jerusalem, or to any other place, that almightye God may give them grace to go safe, and come safe, and give us grace to have parte of their prayers, and they part of oures. Also ye shal praye for the holy Crosse, that is in the possession and hands of unryghtful people, that almightye God may send it into the possession of Christen people, when it pleaseth hym. Furthermore I commit unto your devoute prayers all women that be in our ladyes bondes, that almightye God may sende them grace, the childe to receave the sacrament of baptisme and the mother purification. Also ye shall praye for the good man or woman that thys daye geveth bread to make the holy lofe, and for all those that fyrste began it, and them that longest continue. For these and for all true Christen people, every man and woman say a *Pater noster*, and an *Ave, Deus misereatur nostri, etc., cum Gloria Patri, etc.* While the priest is saying the aforesaid orysons, he shal stand with his face eastward and looke unto the high altare. When

he hath once done, he shal turne hym againe to the people and speake unto them on this manner.

Thirdly, ye shal pray for your frends soules, as your fathers soule, your mothers soule, your brethrens soule, your sisters soule, your Godfathers soule, your Godmothers soule, and for all those soules, whose bones rest in this church or churchyarde or in other holye place, and for al the soules being in paines of purgatorye, but especially, and above al, for those soules, whose names be accustomed to be rehearsed in the beaderolle as I shall rehearse them unto you by the grace of God, et c. For these in speciall and for all other in generall that it is needfull to praye for; for every man and woman saie a *Pater noster* and an *Ave*. Now shal the priest againe turne eastward and say, *De profundis*, et c., cum *Oremus*, *Absolve quesumus*, etc.[21]

[21] *Reliques of Rome*, by Thos. Becon, fols. 234, 235, A.D. 1563. Becon tells us it was from the *English Festivall* he took the above form of "byddyng the beades on the sunday." This English "Festivall" is a very valuable and highly curious work, called the *Liber Festivalis*, which may have been translated, but certainly was first printed, by Caxton and afterwards reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde. By comparing Becon's transcript with Caxton's edition of A.D. 1483, the reader will find that Becon has considerably abridged the original, which runs thus at the end: "ye shal also pray ... for all the soules that we ben bounde to pray for and for the sowles that been in the paynes of purgatorye, there abyding the mercy of our Lord God, and in special for them that have most nede and leste helpe, that God for his endeles

The following will show what was the form more or less generally observed in the province of York, at the earliest part of the fifteenth century.

PRO PRECIBUS DOMINICALIBUS.

Ye shall make your prayers specially till our Lord God Almighty, and till his blessed mother Mary, and till all the holy court of heaven for the state and the stableness of all holy Kirk. For the pope of Rome and all his cardinals, and for the archbishop of York, and for all archbishops and bishops, and for all men and women of religion, and for the person (parson) of this kirk that has your souls to keep, and for all the priests and clerks that has served or serves in this kirk or in any other. And for all prelates and ordiners and all that holy Kirk rules and governs, that God lend them grace so for to rule the people, and swilk ensample for to take or show them, and them for to do thereafter, that it may be loving unto God, and salvation of their souls.

Also ye shall pray specially for the good state of this realm, for the king, and the queen, and for all the peers, and the lords of this land, that God send

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mercy lesse and mynysshe theyr paynes by the moyen of our prayers and brynge them to his everlastyng blysse in heven; and also for the sowle of N., or of them that on suche a day this weke we shal have the annyversarye, and for alle Cristen sowles ye shal say a *Pater noster*, and an *Ave*, etc.

love and charity them among, and give them grace so for to rule it, and govern it in peace, that it be loving to God and the commons unto profit.

Also ye shall pray specially for them that lely (loyally) and truly payes their tendes (tithes) and their offerings till God, and holy Kirk, and for all that other does that God them amend.

Also ye shall pray specially for them that this kirk first biggid and edified, and all that it upholds, and for all that therein finds book, or chalice, vestment, light, or towel, or any other ornament wherewith God's service is sustained.

And for them that holy bread gave to this kirk to-day, and for them that first began, and longest holdes on.

And for all land and till land, and for all sea farand (sea-faring), and for the weather, and for the fruit that is on earth, that the earth may bring forth his fruit christian men to profit.

And for all pilgrims and palmers, and for all that any good gates has gone or shall go.

And for all them that bridges and streets makes and amends, that God grant us part of their good deeds, and them of ours.

Also ye shall pray for all our parishins whereso they be on land or on water, that God save them from all missaunters (misadventures), and for all women that are with child in this parish or in any other, that God deliver them with joy, and give the child christendom, and them purification; and

for all them that are sick and sorry, that God Almighty comfort them; and them that are in good life that God hold them therein.

For them that are in debt, or in deadly sin, or in prison, that God bring them out thereof; for them that for us, and for all christian folk for charity say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave*, etc.

Also ye shall pray specially till our Lady St. Mary that she become our advocate, and that she pray for us specially till her dear son.

Also ye shall pray specially for the brethren and sisters of St. Peter's minster of York, and of St. John of Beverley, and of St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and for all that ye are holden unto, and for all that God would ye pray for, say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave*, etc.

Also ye shall pray specially for our fathers' souls, and our mothers' souls, and for our god-fathers' souls, and our god-mothers' souls, and for our brethren's souls, and our sisters' souls, and for our elders' souls, and for all the souls of whom the bodies are buried in this kirk, or in this kirk-yard, and for all souls that in purgatory God's mercy abides, and for all christian souls of whom we have had any good of, say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave*, etc.[23]

[23] From a MS. York Manual, the calendar of which shows it to have been written out A.D. 1403. For the use of this valuable manuscript I owe many thanks to its

From these interesting liturgical monuments, we behold that what had been sought after with so much pious eagerness by the Anglo-Saxon, became an object no less dear to the wishes of every one in this island, as long as the Salisbury and other

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obliging owner, Sir William Lawson, Bart. Instead of its old, I have given it the present spelling.

The reader will have seen that, in the bidding of the beads, the prayers for the dead form a distinct part by themselves, and have their own psalm, versicles, responses, and collect. Unto such a portion of the "beads", it looks as if there had been given by the people an exclusive designation; and it would seem that in the provincial speech of our eastern counties, it was known under the name of *sangrede*, for it would be hard to find out any other meaning for this term from the way it is met in the will made, circa A.D. 1420, at Bury St. Edmund's, by one John Baret, who says:—Item, I wil the seid Will'm Baret, and alle tho that shal succede hym, pay yeerly to the sexteyne of the monastery of Bury, who so be for the tyme, iij*s*. iv*d*. for a sangrede, that my soule, my fadrys and my modrys sowlys and my frendys may be prayd fore in the pulpit on the Sunday, and the parysh prest to do as moche as sangrede requerith.

In the pious bequests to churches, persons often begged to be prayed for at the Sunday beads; thus Thomas de Hoton says: Do et lego Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Veteris unum novum missale, j calicem, et j bonum vestimentum, ita ut rectores ejusdem ecclesiæ habeant animam meam recommendatam in oracionibus suis dominicalibus faciendis.—*Testa Eboracensia*, parte i, p. 64, published by the Surtees Society.

national rituals remained in use;[23] and few individuals were there who could afford it but made, at

[23] Some few of these original bead-rolls are still to be seen: and Hearne, that untiring, but methodless antiquary, has printed some; one of which, thought by him, from its form of writing, to go back as far as Richard II's reign, is here shown the reader. This roll was found in a manuscript of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, a codex that, before its dissolution, belonged to the Charter-house, London. It is drawn out on a large octavo leaf of vellum, and consists of the names following:

For the soule of Syr John
Rudkyn. And for the soule off
Emmot Skyllyngton. And
for the soule of Thomas
Parkyn and Jone. And for (the soule of)
Henry Walgat. And for the
soule of Rychard Florry and
Margere. For the soule off
John Coye and William Coye.
And for the soule of Mayster
Roger Floure, and for the
soule of Mayster Rychard
Thymmylby. God have mercy on
these soules and of all
Crystyn soules.

—Hearne's *Hist. of Glaston*, preface, p. l.

Besides this short common Sunday bead-roll, with mere names and exclusively of such as had been its especial benefactors,—in each church there was kept a longer one, filled with the names of all those persons who had bestowed but the smallest trifle upon it, and telling what their gifts had been. This larger bead-roll used to be read out once only in the year,—mostly, on the feast of All Hallows,—

some time or other of their life, a gift, especially unto their own parish church, to have their name,

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and on that particular day, to remind the parishioners to pray on the morrow—All Souls' day—more especially for those to whose kindness their church stood indebted. Amongst the several pious purposes for which Simon Lyster, of Hengham, put six acres of land in feoffment (A.D. 1483), one was for himself and his benefactors "on Holowmes-day, to be rehersid in the comyn beed."—*Blomefield's Norfolk*, t. ii, p. 426.

The long bead-roll was, however, read on other days in some few instances. A.D. 1455, the mayor and corporation of Norwich kept, on St. Jerom's day, an obit for the souls of all the deceased benefactors to that city, and their names and gifts were all read out of a bead-roll kept for that purpose.—*Blomefield's Norfolk*, t. iii, p. 160.

Besides its being so much to our present purpose, the reader will be glad to have set before him the following larger bead-roll of Our Lady's Church, Sandwich, as it is one of the most valuable documents of our ecclesiastical antiquities, showing the pious munificence of our forefathers, and that holy earnestness with which they strove to make the house of God beautiful.

"Thys ys the specyall copy of the bederoll, rehersyng of all the namys of thoo sawlys of the goode doarys of oure lady chyrche wyth yn the town of Sandewyche and yn specyall for them that havyn bene grete helparys and releuarys therto, as hyt aperyth here yn rehersyng as folowyth; that ys for to say:

For the sawlys of John Condy and Wyllyem Condy, the whyche weryn the fyrst begynneris of the fundacion of this chauntery, and for all othyr that havyn gevyn there

when dead, written upon its bead-roll, and thus be prayed for, on Sundays, through at least a certain length of years, if not everlastingly.

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to more of ther goodys where thorouth that hyt may be the better mayntenyd.

Also for the sawlys of Thomas Loweryk and of hys wyff, the whyche foundid the chapell of oure lady at the hede of this chyrche, and of iij wyndowys of the north syde of this chyrche.

Also for the sawle of Harry Loveryk, the whyche gaf the monstrant of sylwyr and gylt for to bere ther yn the sacrament on corpus Christi day.

Also for the sawlys of Thomas Elys and Margrete hys wyff and for ser Thomas Rollyng sometyne vicary of this chyrche and for hys fadrys and modrys sowlys, of whoos goodys was made wyth the west wyndow of this chyrche and gaf unto the reparacions of the sayd wyndow a yerely rent of xiij *s.* iiii *d.* perpetually to be payn and ressevid: also made the vicriage of thys parissche more than hyt was un to the honour of them that schullen be vicary after hym, so that the sayd vicariis schuld gevyn yerely un to the wardeyns of the sayd chyrche, for to do ther with an obite for hym and for all hys parysschoners yerely ther of xl *d.* and the sayd vicary than beyng schall haue of the sayd xl *d.* for the sayd obite so yerely done xii *d.* and euery prist with yn the sayd chyrche iiij *d.* and the parysche clerke ij *d.* and the sexteyn ij *d.*

Also for the sawlys of John Gyllyng and of his wyvys, the whyche made the north wyndow of this chyrche be hys lyff daiis; and also gaf unto the reparacion of this chyrche xx^{li} and x *s.* yerely for ever.

Out of the Catholic belief in Purgatory, there sprang up among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers

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Also for the sawle of Harry Cambrig heremyte the whyche gaf a chalys of xvi ounces syluer.

Also for the sawlys of Symon Barle and hys wyff, the whyche gavyn yn her daiis a vestment for a priest of grene veluet, and ij payntyd tabelys that stode some tyme on seynt Laurence auter an afore the auter.

Also for the sawlys of John Goddard and hys wyf, of whos goods was gevyn ij whyte damaske coopis with gold.

Also for the sawle of ser John Skynner priest; of hys goodys was gevyn a hole vestiment for a priest of cloth of sylke powderyd with dayse flowris.

Also for the sawlys of Alexander Norman and of ij wywys, the whyche be hys lyff daiis made the south wyndow and the south porche of this chyrche.

Also for the sowle of Robard Crystmesse, of whos goodys was gevyn unto the chaunge of these bellys xl^{li}.

Also for the sawlys of Thomas Chyn and Thomas Barbor and ther wyvys of whos goodys was made the procession porche and the best masse boke.

Also for the sawlys of John Goddard of this parssche, of whos goodys was gevyn ij bokys, a grayell and a martologe.

Also for the sawlys of Harry Derey and Alys his wyf, of whos goodys was made vi copelys of the south roff of this chyrche.

Also for the sawlys of Symon Chapman and Julyen his wyf, of whos goodys was gevyn a hole vestyment for a priest of cloth of gold of Luke lynyd with grene tartary, and a chalys syluyr and gylt.

certain particular religious usages, which outlived all change of races and dynasties, and throve in

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Also for the sawlys of Stephyn Gerard and Margery hys wyff of whoos goodys was gevyn a good newe masse boke.

Also for the sawlys of Raff Archere and hys wyf, the whyche gaf be hys lyf daiis a crysmatory of syluyr, and the kuueryng of the fonte, and the ymage of seynt Jamys withyn seynt Jamys chapell.

Also for the sawlys of John Smyth vyntener and Joone hys wyff the whiche (gave a hole vestment and a cope of imperiall and a grayell.

Item for the sawlys of John Colwyn and of hys wyff the whyche gaf be ther lyf daiis the best crosse of syluer and gylt with a staf of laton ther to, the whyche cost xxv^{li}.

Also for the sawlys of Thomas Grene, Joone hys wyf, and John Bysschop, the whyche gaf the fote of syluer for that crosse to stand ther on the hygh auter.

Also for the sawlys of Thomas Burges, othyrwyse callyd garter kyng of herawdys and of Anneys hys wyff, the whyche gavyn the best chalys with ij cruettis of syluer, a purpyll coope with the orfraiis of blak tyssew, and a hole vestiment for a priest of the cloth of gold of the kyngys armys.

Also for the sawlys of John Cheseman and hys wyff, of whos goods was gevyn unto the sute of rede baudekyns of gold the sum of xvj^{li}. xiij *s.* also a hole newe legende the whyche cost x^{li}. vj *s.* viij *d.*

Also for the sawle of ser Thomas Mowton vicary, the whyche gaf be hys lyf daiis un to ij new sensers and ij candylstyks, and to a boke ycalyd an antiphoner and unto other necessariis, the sum of xxj^{li}. vi *s.* viii *d.*

this country until, much against the people's wish, the state put away its old for a new-born and foreign-bred form of creed. The first of these devotional practices which we have to notice, is—

THE PIOUS FELLOWSHIP IN BEHALF OF THE DEAD WHICH ONE ANGLO-SAXON MINSTER OFTEN FORMED WITH ANOTHER.

We have heard with what feeling earnestness St. Beda, that holy learned man, besought to have, as soon as he should breathe his last, masses offered up and prayers said for his soul by the monks of a monastery,[24] far away from his own Jarrow. What that saint asked in his own individual person, whole religious bodies strove, at the very time he was living, to get done for all their members:[25] hence

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Also for the sawlys of John Wellys clerk of this chyrche, the whyche gaf a hole vestimente for a prieste, and a bason of laton for the lamp to hang.

Also for the sawlys of Wyllyem Clowtyng and Peyne hys wyff, of whoos goods the vestery was newe repayryd unto valow of vj^{li}.—*Hist. of Sandwich*, by W. Boys, p. 372.

Swaffham church commemorate all its benefactors on Whitmonday, when the large common bead-roll was read all through, and it was not only much longer, but even more interesting than the one just given, as may be seen from *Blomefield's Norfolk*, vi, 217.

[24] See *note* 4, p. 342.

[25] Similiter ut pro dormientium fratrum animabus, qui nobiscum laborabant in Domino orationum adjuvamina, et missarum solemnia celebrare faciatis precamur, quorum

arose the custom for one minster to tie itself, by a formal agreement of brotherhood, unto another, with the mutual understanding that each should say a fixed number of psalms and masses for the souls of the dead, not only belonging to its own, but the other's congregation.[26] Often, too, the compact was so wide as to take in, not merely those who had plighted their vows to God and put on the cowl in that minster, but all lay-folks —men or women—who, by their benefactions, had become entitled to the prayers of its members.[27]

Linking itself under such a bond of ghostly friendship, not merely with one or two, but a great many other houses scattered up and down this island—sometimes even with clerical establishments far off beyond the sea, as Winchester and other minsters here did in regard to those religious congregations founded by St. Boniface in

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nomina gerulus harum literarum demonstravit.—*Bonifacius Aldherio, Op. S. Bonifacii*, t. i, p. 201, ed. Giles.

[26] Direximus itaque fratrum nostrorum nuper defunctorum nomina, ut eorum in vestris sanctis orationibus *solito more* memoriam habeatis, et ad cætera deinceps monasteria eadem nomina scripta dirigatis, sicut et nos facimus, quoties de vobis, sive de cæteris monasteriis defunctorum fratrum nomina veniunt.—*Anonymus Anonymo* (*ibid.* t. i, p. 263). The "solito more" of the text shows that this practice had, even then towards the early part of the eighth century, been of some standing.

[27] See Lull's letter, quoted at the end of next *note*.

Germany,[28] our Anglo-Saxon Churchmen soon learned how needful was it that a monastery should have some fixed rule to go by in the due interchange of those pious services which each promised to perform towards the other's members, as if they were its own. Hence arose the use of

THE DEATH-BILL,

called by some the mortuary-roll or brief, which

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[28] Inprimis itaque scire te volumus, o dilectissime, quod gratanter accipimus nostram parvitatem vestris sanctis orationibus commendatam, ut sicut vestra benignitas de Missarum solemnitatibus, et orationum assiduitatibus, Deo instigante, dictavit, ita quoque nostra mediocritas devota mente implere conetur, memoriaque nominis vestri in septenis monasteriorum nostrorum synaxibus perpetua lege censeri debet—Nomina quoque defunctorum et viam universalem ingredientium prout opportunitas anni exegerit, ex utraque parte adducentur (*Bonifacio archiepiscopo Ebwaldus Estanglorum Deo donante regia potestate fretus. S. Bonifacii Op.* ed. Giles, t. i, p. 72). Lull, the friend and Anglo-Saxon successor of St. Boniface in the see of Mentz, kept up the same close intercommunion with England, as we learn from Cinehard the Bishop of Winchester's letter to this second apostle of Germany:—Nomina quoque presbyterorum vestrorum diaconorumque ac monachorum, vel monacharum sive caeterorum quæ misistis, per monasteria et per ecclesias nostræ dicecesis direximus ad celebranda pro eis Missarum solemnia et orationum suffragia. Id ipsum facere vestram Sanctitatem suppliciter exoramus pro eis quorum nomina vobis habemus

was a list of its dead sent by one house to be remembered in the prayers and sacrifices of the other with which it was in fellowship: an especial messenger from his office, named the roll-bearer, carried it. When a bishop or an abbot died, and among the laity some royal personage —some high-born thane, the munificent patron of that house,— the monk unto whom belonged this duty started, as soon as possible, on horseback, and rode all about until he had called at each one of those places with which his own monastery held brotherhood, to tell the doleful news and ask their inmates' prayers for the soul of that individual named in the death-bill, of which he came the bearer. Excepting these rare and more solemn occasions, no other than a common list was written, and the roll of the house sent forth at certain periods during the year, with the names upon it of such as had died within the last few months, and for whom, according to agreement, the celebrations of the Church were to be made:[29] to monasteries in the

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dirigenda et nominatim cum personis suis scribenda.— *Ibid.* p. 225.

[29] Nomina quoque defunctorum, et viam universalem ingredientium prout opportunitas anni exegerit, ex utraque parte adducentur (*Ebwaldus Bonifacio, ib.* p. 73). This we also learn from St. Dunstan, who also tells us the precise prayer said on the occasion: —Epistola ad vicina quæque monasteria eiusdem (defuncti monachi) depositionis denunciatura diem ut iste sit sensus.

neighbourhood, the death of one in ghostly fellowship with them was immediately announced.

What our forerunners in the Faith did during the eighth, they went on doing till the sixteenth

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Dominus N. abbas monasterii N. cunctis sanctæ ecclesiæ fidelibus tam prælatis, quam et subditis. Cum cunctos maneat sors irrevocabilis horæ, notum vobis esse cupimus de quodam fratre nostro N. quem Dominus de ergastulo huius sæculi vocare dignatus est die N., pro quo obsecramus obnixe ut sitis strenui interventores ad Dominum, sentiatque in interventione, quibus fuerat unitus in ordinis communione.

Quod si ex alio monasterio noto ac familiari, frater quis nunciatus fuerit defunctus, conveniant pulsata tabula undique fratres, motis uti prædiximus omnibus signis; vij. pœnitentiæ prostrati in oratorio modulentur psalmos hac subsequente oratione: *Satisfaciat tibi Domine Deus noster pro anima fratris nostri N. Beatæ Domini Genetricis semperque virginis Mariæ, et sancti Petri apostoli, atque sancti Benedicti confessoris tui, omniumque Sanctorum tuorum oratio, et præsentis familiæ tuæ devota supplicatio, ut peccatorum omnium veniam quam precamur obtineat, nec eum patiaris cruciari Gehennalibus flammis, quem eiusdem filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi glorioso sanguine redemisti. Qui tecum vivit*, etc.

Et agatur pro eo prima, tertia, septima, trigesima dies plenarie, reliquis sub brevitate; et nomen eius notetur in anniversariis: at ex ignoto, tantum commendatio animæ et una dies (*Regularis Concordia*, p. 93). The Saint then adds: Ab octavis Paschæ—usque octavam Pentecostes vigilia pro defunctis et psalmi pro benefactoribus non solent cani.—*Ibid.* p. 90.

century all through this land; and as under Anglo-Saxon,[30] just so under Norman[31] and English, pre-

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[30] The following letter of fraternity, which Adela, who seems to have been the abbess of some nunnery, sent to Leofric (whom Edward the Confessor raised to the bishopric of Crediton, whence that prelate carried his see to Exeter and died there during the first William's reign), shews what were the particular devotional obligations to be discharged by all those who might be admitted to such pious brotherhoods: L. grā dī epō: Adela dī famula: quicquid melius in dño. Opto me fore in tuis scīs orationibus, ut tu sis in meis. Idcirco tibi mando de fraternitate atque communione Scōr omnium in qua cupio ut sis sicut ego. Omnes qui ea bona intentione menteque utantur atque ita in fine sint perseverantes ut nullo modo ex ipsa sint diffidentes absque dubio coheredes fuerint dī regno. Unusquisque enim fidelis qui in ea cupit intrare deb& pro vivis et defunctis x psalteria decantare et psalmum *Ds. misereat. nostri* cotidie usitare, et in fr̄ ii. m̄ (in feria secund, missam) pro defunctis, et in vi. fr̄ m pro vivis. Et si quis ex his fratribus hoc scto fuerit functus, missam cotidie pro eo infra xxx dies oport& celebrari. Quod beatissimis patribus scilic& Ricardo atque Odolone ē decretum pro quorum benefactis: ds. declarat' in magnis miraculis. Val. (*Leofric's Missal*, Bod. 579, fol. 59.) It is written in a more modern hand than that of the Missal itself, and on a vacant space at the end of the leaf.

[31] Abp. Lanfranc, made the primate of England through the first Norman William's influence, allotted the office of drawing up and sending off these death-bills, to the precentor, as we learn from one of his decrees:—Cura brevium qui foras mitti solent pro defunctis fratribus, et cura

lates, our cathedrals and monasteries went into a like kind of fellowship, both with one another here and with those abroad.[33] The roll-bearer's office

numerandi tricenaria et septenaria, ad eum (Cantorem) pertinet.—*Decreta Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti* apud *Reynerum Apost. Benedict. Append.*, p. 235.

[33] From entries in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham, we find that house kept religious fellowship with many monasteries in England, besides some in France (*Liber Vitæ*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 71, 72, 73). The same practice was followed by all the monasteries, both great and small, in this country. With regard to Christchurch, Canterbury, there may be seen among the Cotton manuscripts (*Claudius*, c. vi, 7, fol. 166), Societatum virorum et fœminarum indiculus pro quorum animabus monachi ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis tenentur prestare sevitia, officia et missas.

Pro Domino episcopo Roffensi fiet servitium in ecclesia sicuti pro nostris, et pro monachis ejusdem ecclesiæ, in conventu vii plenaria officia, xxx diebus "Verba mea," et quisque sacerdos vii missas.

Pro monachis S. Augustini fiet per omnia sicut pro nostris, excepto "Verba mea," et cibo ad eleemosynam.

Pro sororibus Sceftoniæ vii officia plenaria in conventu, quisque sacerdos iii missas, alii psalmos, et vii diebus "Verba mea."

Pro canonicis S. Gregorii omnia signa ter pulsabuntur, et unum officium non festivum in conventu fiet et in primo tricenario quod occurrit ponentur.

Monachi de Glestingeberia plenam nobis societatem habent, et nos cum illis similiter. Dies etiam anniversaria obitus illorum in martyrologio nostro et dies anniversaria obitus nostri in martyrologio ipsorum scribetur. Et unus-

was always kept up; his task remained the same,[33] but the death-bill carried by him showed, especially

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quisque sacerdos missam unam. Besides these, they had brotherhood with ten other monasteries in England; and abroad, the "Societates ecclesiarum in transmarinis partibus" were with six great houses. Adela's letter to Leofric, given just now (note 30), will show what was the usage in this country during Anglo-Saxon times. Of the form on the continent, of letter for this kind of religious fellowship, there is an old (c. A.D. 838) and a good specimen in the one which was sent on the occasion from the monks of St. Remigius, at Rheims, to those of St. Denys, near Paris, and printed by D'Achery (*Spicil.* t. iii, p. 333). How common, not only here but in France, the same practice must have been, may be gathered from the outpourings of Baudre, the poetical abbot of Bourgueil:—

Invectio in Rolligerum.

Obsecro jam parcat tam sæpe venire veredus,
Per nimios usus nimium sua verba veremur
Vivant prælati, pro quorum morte vagatur
Vultur edax, corvusque niger, volitanque veredus,
Necnon bubo canens dirum mortalibus omen.
Significant mortes præsaganturque cadaver.
Sic rotulus semper mortem cuiuslibet affert
Ergo sit a nostris penitus conventibus exul,
Qui semper mortem, qui nunciat anxietatem.
Nam sæpe venit, nummi mercede carebit, etc.

—*Baldrici Andegav. Abb. Burgul. Carmina*] *Historica*, ed. Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.* t. iv, p. 253. This same writer, who flourished towards the end of the eleventh century, composed several odes to be inscribed upon such mortuary rolls; and these verses may be seen among his

on great and particular occasions, something more than the bare name and titles of the illustrious deceased, written, as of old, upon a slip of unadorned vellum. Before it was let go out of the scriptorium, or writing-room, this scroll went under the limner's

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Carmina: the ode with this title—*In Rotulo Rainaldi Remensis*, begins thus:—

Si quid defunctos posset mea musa juvare
Debueram musam revera continuare,
Sed pro defunctis potius duo sunt facienda
Usus quæ nobis et jus designat agenda.
Nam pro defunctis jus et compassio plorat,
Et pro salvandis animabus proximus orat, etc.

—*Ibid.* p. 252.

[33] Two hundred years and more after St. Dunstan's time, another holy countryman of ours, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, made for these death-bills almost the very same rule as was laid down by the illustrious Anglo-Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury: Cum aliquis vel aliqua de nostris obierit, infra tres dies mittantur, qui scripta defuncti per singulas domos nostras ferant.... Portitori brevium obituum nostrorum detur panis regularis et potus per singulas domos. Cum obitus pro defuncto nostri ordinis recitatur in capitulo, dicatur pro eo in conventu quàm citius ordinata dici poterit. Nec differatur missa ultrà octo dies... et scribatur nomen ejus in martyrologio et fiet pro eo tricennale in singulis domibus; et unusquisque sacerdos dicet pro eo tres missas, et unusquisque inferioris ordinis unum psalterium; fratres et sorores laicæ, pro psalterio septies viginti et decem "Pater noster".—*Institutiones Beati Gileberti de Sempringham*, etc. *De Off. Mortuorum*, *Mon. Anglic.* t. vii, p. xci*.

beautifying hand, which set forth, in nicely-wrought illuminations, the high and holy doings of the great departed one: how, in his last sickness, he had been duly aneled and houseled, how he had given him all his rites, how the burial service had been solemnly performed for him at home.[34] Every-

[34] These rolls are some among the scarcest of our national ritual documents: I have met with only one in private hands, and very few are to be seen in our public collections of MSS. Perhaps the chapter library of Durham is the richest in these monuments; and it is presumed that the following description will not be unacceptable to the antiquarian and liturgical reader:—"48. A roll thirteen yards in length and nine inches in breadth, consisting of nineteen sheets of parchment, upon the following subjects:

"Upon the death of John Burnby, prior of Durham, in the year 1464, Richard Bell his successor (afterwards bishop of Carlisle) and the convent, entrusted a brief, if it may be so called, communicative of the virtues of prior Burnby and his predecessor William of Ebchester, to one or more monks of their cathedral, and commissioned them to travel, throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of prevailing upon its religious houses to assist in praying out of purgatory the souls of the deceased dignitaries. The roll commences with a splendid illumination three feet in length, illustrative of the death and burial of one of the priors."—*Cod. Manuscript. Ecc. Cathed. Dunelmensis Catalogus*, etc. *à Thoma Rud.* p. 435.

Rud gives the form of the brief, which, after dwelling upon the holiness of life and the many good works of these two priors, ends thus: Quocirca cum opus sit meritorium captivas animas fidelium defunctorum penas

where the brief-bearer was received, treated, and speeded on his way as if he were a brother of that

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luentes purgatorias vivorum precibus et pietatis operibus suffragari ut a penis atrocibus celerius absolvantur vestræ universitatis caritatem devotis precibus obnixius flagitemus quatinus et maculas peccatorum quas carnali contraxerunt miseria vestrarum precum devocio diluat et abstergat et quod in venia animarum venerabilium priorum nostrorum subsidium et levamen de vestro promptuario pietatis conferre decreveritis cum vestris insertis titulis redigi sedulo deprecamur ut . . . nostræ devocionis munificencia vobis et vestris rependere teneamur.—*Ibid.*

"With this the monks set out, and the roll proves that, in the course of their travels, they visited not fewer than 623 religious houses, each of which wrote its title, order, and dedication upon the roll, and pledged itself to pray for the deceased priors, receiving, in return, an interest in the orisons of the priory of Durham."

"The theme thus stands at the foot of the brief: Anima Magistri Willielmi Ebchester, et anima Magistri Johannis Burnby, et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam in pace requiescant; and the first monastery which the monks visited thus records itself: Titulus monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Gyseburn in Clyveland ordinis S. Augustini Ebor. Dioc. anima Magistri Willielmi Ebchester et anima Magistri Johannis Burnby, et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant. Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus."

"Each house thus writes its title, etc., and subjoins the above verse, with the exception of the monastery of St. Paul, at Newenham, co. Linc., which exhibits the same

house; but the while he tarried under its roof the community recorded upon his brief the day and

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sentiment in different language: 'Quod dedimus vestris et vos impendite nostris.'"

Similar rolls are contained in the treasury (of Durham) (*ibid.* p. 436). The whole of the above one is given at full length in *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. ccccxlviii.

Of these very interesting documents the Surtees Society lately published another, which will show the reader that, while the self-same Catholic doctrine, accompanied by the same holy wish in behalf of the dead, was put forth in it, the roll was written in a different form of words: Venerabilibus patribus et amicis sanctæ religionis viris ad quos pervenerint hæc scripta, Robertus prior ecclesiæ cathedralis Dunelmensis, et ejusdem loci conventus, salutem, et caritatis mutuæ incrementum. Inter cætera pietatis opera credimus indubitanter fore præcipuum et Creatori nostro maxime gratum, illis optati solaminis subsidia conferre, qui, decurso vitæ præsentis tædio, extra statum meriti nunc positi pœnas luunt in purgatorio pro commissis juventutis præteritæ, aliena suffragia devotissime flagitantes. Unde, quia sancta est et salubris cogitacio pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccatis solvantur, ut canit ecclesia, universitatem vestram venerandam ad quorum noticiam literæ præsentes pervenerint, ad hujus tam sanctæ tam immensæ devocionis studia, prout est moris antiquitus usitati salubriter exorantes, in Domino, mutuæ vicissitudinis optentu et gracia rogamus humiliter, quatinus animam bonæ memoriæ domini Thomæ nuper episcopi nostri, qui octavo idus Maii diem suum clausit extremum, et animas confratrum nostrorum omnium in Christo quiescencium quorum nomina lator præsencium vobis præsentabit, precibus vestris sacris re-

year of his coming to them, and their own sorrow at the doleful tidings he brought. Their grief was spoken in Leonines, which told of the good deeds and holy life, whilst they wept the death of the renowned deceased; or they penned a Latin couplet to say—"we will do for you and yours, as we hope that you will do for us and ours."[35] Most likely

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comendare velitis Altissimo; ut per oracionum vestrarum devota suffragia consequi mereantur eternæ beatitudinis requiem quam optarunt. Harum vero portitori Johanni de P., nostro breviatori cum ad vos declinaverit, quod humanitatis est exhibere velitis caritatis intuitu, ut vestris in eventu consimili teneamur arcius grata vicissitudine respondere. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus per triennium tantummodo duraturis sigillum commune Capituli nostri duximus apponendum. Data in Capitulo nostro octavo idus Octobris, anno Domini millesimo ccc^mo^ octagesimo primo.—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, in Append. p. clii.

No doubt that fine roll, illuminated with the death-bed, the dirge (an etching of which will be found a little further on in this work) and tomb, in Westminster Abbey, of John Islip, abbot of that house, and given in *Vetusta Monumenta*, t. iv, plates 16, 17, 18, 19, was one of these mortuary rolls painted and sent about the country to all those religious communities with which Westminster held fellowship, to beg their prayers for the soul of abbot Islip. This fine MS. did once belong to the London Society of Antiquaries, but is now lost!

[35] An old roll, enumerating the churches which prayed for the soul of Lucy de Vere, foundress of Hengham Priory, an° Rich. I, commences thus:—

having mingled his own voice in the *Placebo*, or Even-song; in the *Dirige*, or Matins; followed by

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Titulus. *Ecclesia S^ti^ Petri Westmonastern.* Anima Dominæ Luciæ Priorissæ de Hengeham et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum, per Dei misericordiam, requiescant in pace. Amen.

Concedimus ei commune beneficium ecclesiæ nostræ,
Oravimus pro vestris, orate pro nostris.

On her death this lady was mentioned in the prayers not only of Westminster, but of fifty other churches, as appears from the roll, in which the same words occur above fifty times, but constantly written in a different hand. Every one of these churches strived to outdo each other in shewing the respect they had to the memory of this lady, which made some of them write verses upon the occasion, several of which occur in the said roll.

Hæc virgo vitæ mirtus super astra loc } atur.
Et sic Luciæ lux sine fine d }
Transit ad superos venerabilis hæc moni } alis.
Vix succedet ei virtutum munere t }

Ad lucem Lucia venit sine fine man } entem.
Et sic quem coluit Patrem videt Omnipot }
Luci Luciæ prece lux mediante Mariæ
Luceat æterna quia floruit ut rosa verna.

Tres tibi gemm } atæ { lucent Lucia cor } one.
Insuper aur } { dic lectæ qua rati }
Mater virgo t } amen { Martir fuit ergo lev } amen.
Cernat ad ex } { districti Judicis }

Subveniant animæ Luciæ cœlica quæque
Ad quorum laudes dapsilis urna fuit.

Scandat ad astra poli virgo Lucia beata
Quæ Christo soli fuit in terris famulata.

a Mass of *Requiem* chanted for the dead in every church he visited, this messenger, after many months' absence, reached his own cloister, carrying back with him the illuminated death-bill, now filled to its furthest length with dates and elegiacs, for his abbot to see that the behests of the chapter had been duly done, and the library of the house might be enriched with another document.

The fellowship, or right of being prayed for during life and after death, granted by our Anglo-Saxon monks to lay-folks—men and women—was not only kept up here, but the system itself became stretched out to a much wider extent beneath the governance of Norman and English discipline than it had ever been heretofore. Not satisfied with

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Verax vita via te ditet luce Lucia
In cœli propria cum virgine matre Maria.

Mors rapit omnia, sunt quia sompnia terrea quæque,
Nuda tuguria, celsa palatia, mors unit æque.

This priory being dedicated to the B. V. Mary, and the Holy Cross, for that reason upon the roll is painted the Virgin Mary, and over her—

Stella maris, candoris ebur, speculum paradysi,
Pons veniæ, vitæ janua, virgo vale.

and, for the same reason, a large cross is painted upon the same roll, and above it—

Crux bona, crux d } igna { lignum super omnia l } igna.
Me tibi cons } { redimens a peste mal }

—*Hearne*, preface to his edition of *Leland's Itinerary*, t. 5, p. xxvii, Oxford, 1744.

having, as of old, their names upon the bead-roll of a religious house, knights and earls and high-born ladies would sometimes get themselves, at their last illness, clothed, that they might thus die in the habit of some favourite order, the austerities and self-denying practices of which they had not, whilst young and well and in healthful strength, had heart enough to undergo.[36]

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[36] St. Gilbert of Sempringham's Rule tells how the funeral rites were done for those who had taken the habit of the order on their death-bed: Susceptus quilibet in morte, in habitu canonici vel fratris, per priorem et conventum alicujus domus.... in illa domo qua susceptus est, fiat pro eo sicut pro canonico vel fratre, excepto cibo xxx dierum. Et mittetur obitus ejus cum obitu primi defuncti domus illius post mortem illius; et sic fiet pro eo in aliis domibus, sicut pro familiari, et in tricennalibus ponetur. In domo vero qua suscipitur, scribetur in martyrologio, et in brevibus mortuorum scribetur ad succurrendum, si habitum habuerit. Set non mittentur brevia pro eo per se, nisi habuerit cartam magistri. (*Institutiones Beati Gileberti de Sempringham*, etc., De Off. Mortuorum, *Mon. Anglic.* t. vii, p. xcii*. When a monk of the order died, a day's portion of meat and drink was, for the month following, given to the poor in behalf of his soul. This was not done for a layman who took the habit at his death.

"The obituary," says Mr. Raine, in his interesting though prejudiced work,—"the obituary of the priory of Durham.... is contained in the margin of an old copy of Bede's *Martyrology*, bound up along with many other matters relative to Durham, in the MS. *B.* iv, 24, in the library of the dean and chapter; and, be it noted, almost

Whilst by these means they sought to be looked upon in some religious house as a kind of brethren with its cloistered inmates, and thus win its prayers

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every entry proves my assertion, that men, even of exalted rank, were in the habit of bidding farewell to the world, and submitting to the austerities of the cloister. Let me subjoin a few high-sounding names who died in the odour of sanctity: Robert, the knight and monk; Girald, knight and monk; Guerin, knight and monk; Hamelin, knight and monk; Pagan, the knight; Reiner, the knight; Gospatrick, the earl and monk." (*Raine's St. Cuthbert*, p. 95.) This gentleman is mistaken in his "assertion"; for these entries merely shew that the above-named noblemen, at their dying moments, took upon them the habit, though they had never spent a day within the priory of Durham as cloistered monks. Of such a practice we have spoken before (t. i, p. 486, note 20); and Carter, in his *Specimens*, has given the figure, from Connington church, Huntingdonshire, of a knight clad in mail armour, over which he wears the habit and cord of a Franciscan friar. The oversights, in such matters, committed by ignorance, or "a zeal not according to knowledge," scoffers at Christ's church have eagerly snatched at, while they strove to show, so unreasonably, that the doctrine of Purgatory, with which this practice was loosely linked, must be wrong, because both may have been sometimes misunderstood, abused, or misapplied. Thus Latimer, a man of the "new learning," so ranter-like in logic and in language, babbles about "our old ancient purgatory pick-purse, that was swagged and cooled with a Franciscan's cowl put upon a dead man's back, to the fourth part of his sins."—*Sermons*, p. 50, Cambridge, 1844.

in behalf of their own and kindred's souls when they should die, our Anglo-Saxon lay-folks bethought themselves of those pious associations known as

GILDS,[37]

which have come down to us from them under the self-same name and for the self-same truly Catholic purposes. Mutual help with regard to this world and the next—this life's present welfare and the soul's happiness hereafter—was the bond which linked the Anglo-Saxon layman with his fellow-layman in these holy companionships. On being made a member, the Anglo-Saxon, as he swore upon the shrined relics of their common patron saint in the minster wherein they met, pledged his oath to stand by his gild-brother in every rightful cause, never to harm his person, nor hurt his good

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[37] The word "gild" is Anglo-Saxon, in which language it means "the payment of money". Hence, as a fee, at going into any club, and a yearly contribution of so much, were needful to keep it up, of whatever kind it happened to be,—whether for religious purposes, or for trade,—the fellowship itself, from the "gilda", or money clubbed together for upholding it, was called "gild".

Gilds were of two kinds, religious and secular; and it would seem that, in every parish church, the Anglo-Saxons kept a holy gild; for the ninth among the canons enacted under King Edgar, forbids one priest to deprive another of any thing either "in his minster, his shrift-shire, or his gildshipe."—*Ancient Laws*, t. ii, p. 247.

name.[38] For mere worldly business and occasional feastings, each gild had its own especial hall;[39] and its concerns were watched over by particular officers, among whom the steward,[40] if not the first, was one of the most trustworthy and conspicuous: it had, too, its own chaplain or gild-priest[41] to say Mass for the health and well-being of the living and the souls' rest of all its departed brethren.[42]

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[38] þ is þonne aerest þ aelc oprum aþ on haligdome sealde soþre heldraedenne for Gode 7 for porulde. 7 eal geferraeden þaem á sỳlste þe rihtost haefde. The Thanes' gild, at Cambridge.—*Hickes, Diss. Epist. Thesaur.* t. ii, p. 20.

For such kinds of oaths there was, among the Anglo-Saxons, a particular form, which began thus: By the Lord, before whom this relic is holy, I will be faithful and true, etc. (*Ancient Laws of England*, ed. Thorpe, t. i, p. 179.) The "haligdom", or shrine with the relic, is well shown in the Bayeux tapestry, pl. 6, t. vi, of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, wherein Harold is figured between two shrines, with a hand outstretched upon each, and taking his oath to William.

[39] Orcy haefð gegyfen þae gegyld healle 7 þone stede aet Abbodesbyrig gode to lofe 7 sce Petre 7 þam gyldscipe to agenne.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 277.

[40] The steward or "stiwerd" is mentioned in *note* 44, p. 398.

[41] The "gild priest" is especially prayed for in the Anglo-Saxon bidding of the beads, p. 358.

[42] And se Maesse-preost a singe twa maessan othre for tha lỳfigendan frỳnd. Othre for tha forðgefarenan aet aelcere mittinge: and aelc gemaenes hades broður twegen Salteras-Sealma. oðerne for tha lỳfigendan frỳnd. Otherne

Craving for itself the ever wakeful care and prayers of some saint above, each gild kept the festival of its patron with much solemnity, and upon the eve of that day an offering was brought to the church in which its members were accustomed to assemble for their common devotions.[43]

But in the illness and at the death of any among its brotherhood, was it that the Anglo-Saxon gild showed forth its Christian kindness. According to the statutes of one, founded at Abbotsbury by a nobleman called Orcy, if a member fell sick, though as far as sixty miles away, the steward had to find fifteen men who were to go and fetch their ailing friend to his own home; and if he happened to die

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for tha forðgefarenan and eft forð-siðe aelc monn vi maessan oððe vi. Sealteras Sealma.—*Statutes of a Gild at Exeter.—Hickes, Dissert. Epist.* p. 22, t. ii. *Ling. Vet. Sept. Thes.*

[43] ðrym nihton aer petres maessan aet aelcon gegyldan aenne peningc. oððe an peningcwurð weaxes.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 277. This penny, or, in its stead, the pennyworth of wax, must have been for the gild-stock: the wax may have afforded them lights for their hall, but was chiefly employed to furnish the tapers burning at their own altar in the parish church. On maesse aefen aet twa gegyldum aenne bradne hlaf well besewen 7 well gesyfled to urum gemaenum aelmyssan.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 278. This loaf, baked of the best and finest flour, was offered by two of the gildship in behalf of all the brethren as their common alms, to the priest who sang the mass on their feast-day, St. Peter's, the 29th of June.

within thirty miles, as many of the gild as could be brought together, on horseback or on foot, were to go and bring the body to that church in which their dead brother had wished to be buried:[44] on the morning of the funeral, all the gild was bidden to the service, whereat they gathered round the bier upon which lay stretched the corpse, and they prayed and made an offering during the Mass in behalf of the departed soul;[45] and those who did not come were mulcted in a fine, either of so much

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[44] gyf ure aenig geuntrumod sy binnan syxtig... n̄ findon we fyſtyne menn þ hine gefeccon. 7 gyf he forðfaren sy. xxx. 7 þa hine gebringon to ðaere stowe þe he to gyrnde on his life. 7 gyf he on neawyste forðfaren sy. warnige man þone stiwerd to hwylcere stowe þ lic sceole. 7 se stiwerd warnige syððan ða gegyldan swa fela swa he maege maest to geridan oððe to gesendan .þ hi þaerto cumon 7 þ lic wurdlice bestandan 7 to mynstre ferian. 7 for ðaere sawle georne gebiddan. (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 278.) The same, too, was the rule in other gilds at that time. The thanes' gild, at Cambridge, bound themselves, if a brother of theirs fell sick, or died, far away from his home, to go, fetch him back, and bury him where he himself had wished: gif hpilce gegilda ut of lande forðfere oððe beo gesẏcled, gefeccan hine his gegildan. 7 hine gebringan deadne oððe cucene paer he to pilnie. be þaem ylcan pite þe hit gecpeden is. The Thanes' gild, at Cambridge.—*Hickes, Thesaur.* t. ii, *Diss. Epist.* p. 21.

[45] gyf aenigum on urum geferraedene his forðsið getide sceote aelc gegylda aenne peningc aet þam lice for þaere sawle. (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.* t. iv, p. 278.) Se gildscipe hẏrſe be healfre feorme of þone forðferedan. 7 aelc sceote

wax for the church lights, or of honey[46] for the use of the brethren. Thus the dead gild-brother or sister was borne with all religious solemnity to the grave; and Masses were said, psalms sung, alms bestowed, doles of food given to the needy, for the good of the poor soul:[47] indeed the first and the highest duty of an Anglo-Saxon gild, was made to stand upon the Catholic doctrine of purgatory.

Here again, the Normans, and later the English, carried out the belief and followed the ritual practices which the Anglo-Saxons had so warmly

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tpegen paenegas to þaere aelmessan .7 man þaer ogebrýnge þ gerise aet sce Æþeldryðe. The Thanes' gild, at Cambridge.—*Hickes, Thesaur.* t. ii, *Diss. Epist.* p. 20.

[46] gif he aet ham forðferð 7 gegilda þ he ne gesaecð; 7 se gegilda þe ne gesece his morgen spaece, gilde his sýster huniges. (*Hickes, Thesaur.* t. ii, *Diss. Epist.* p. 21.) This form of expression, "morgen spaece," to signify the morning service for the dead, would seem to hint that there used to be a funeral sermon as well as mass. The same fine of honey, for a like omission, was exacted in other gilds. For example: Gif hpilc gegilda forþfaere gebringe hine ealgegildscipe þaer he to pilnie. 7 se þe þaerto ne cume gýlde sýster huniges. The Thanes' gild, at Cambridge.—*Ibid.* p. 20.

[47] Every man who has given his "wed" in our gildships, if he should die, each gild-brother shall give a "gesufel" loaf for his soul, and sing a fifty (of psalms?), or get it sung, within xxx days. (*Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ, Ancient Laws*, etc. ed. Thorpe, vol. i, p. 237.) The "gesufel" loaf was one made of fine flour.

cherished. Of the many thousand churches throughout this country, there was none, however small, but had belonging to it always one, often many, of these gilds;[48] and the statutes for their govern-

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[48] In Windham church, Norfolk, there were, at the change of religion, no fewer than ten gilds (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, t. ii, p. 523); and at Hingham, seven (*Ibid.* p. 423); seven also at Swaffham. (*Ibid.* vi, 217.) The town of Great Yarmouth had no less than seventeen. (*Swindon's Hist.* p. 809.) In his *Treatise on Tithes*, Walton says: Where a saint's image stands without the quire to which a brotherhood belongeth, the wardens of the brotherhood compound, some for iij*s.* iv*d.*, v*s.*, vj*s.* viij*d.*, or more, per annum, to have the brotherhood kept in the church. (*Stow's London*, edited by Strype, t. ii, book v, p. 26.) The image was of the gild's patron saint, and near it was set up the altar upon which the gild-priest said his mass. The quick eye of a good medieval antiquary will often be able to see where one of these gild-altars stood, in many of our old country parish churches. The bracket by a pier, or coming out of the wall in some quiet corner; the two iron staples, in the same place, a few feet asunder, for holding the rods from which hung down the two side curtains; and the little sacrarium, which, if plastered over, may be found out by a few soft taps against the right-hand side of the wall,—all speak of some small gild-altar.

The number of gilds in the London churches, and the contributions which they made for upholding the public worship, may be learned from all our old evidences:—

Received of Thomas Hogan, master of our Lady's brotherhood. 1515, Kensyngton.

Our Ladie's brethren. } Sir William Ironmonger, parish priest there.

ment, as well as the purposes of their foundation, were, in the sixteenth century, quite akin to those which called forth and guided the same kind of holy fellowship in its earliest forms among our Anglo-Saxon fathers. Like them, the English gild-brother bound himself by oath (under, too, the exact same form of invocation), to bear good will and be faithful to that brotherhood, and pledged his word to pay all due respect to its alderman and his successors in that office:[49] his deed of admission was

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Also of oblacions and offerings received upon the festfull days of our Blessed Lady.

Of New Brethren, etc.

Item of Mr. Dr. Aynsworth, 6*s.* 8*d.*

— of Sir Rys ap Thomas, Knight, 6*s.* 8*d.*

—*Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, Illustrations*, etc. pp. 5, 6.

A.D. Received the 13th day of September of the gift of the brethren of St. John Baptist, £1. 10*s.*

Received the same day, of the gift of the brotherhood of St. Christopher, 7*s.*

Received the 5th of October, of the brotherhood of St. Cornelius, £2.

Received the same day, of the brotherhood of St. George, 10*s.*—*Ibid.* p. 77.

A.D. 1427. To the brotherhood of Our Lady and St. Thomas the Martyr, in St. Magnus Church, for Hugh Brownham, for the Salve per annum, xii *s.*—*St. Mary's at Hill, London, ibid.* p. 90.

[49] In the worship of God Almighty our Creator and his Moder Saint Marie and Allhallowes and Saint James

then stamped with the gild's own seal, which was not unfrequently kept hanging at the patron saint's shrine:[60] his name was written down in a roll kept

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Apostle, a Fraternite is begon of gode men in the chirch of Saint James the yer of our Lord MCCCLXXV, for amendement of her lyves and of her sowles, and to nourish more love among the bretheren and sustrein of the bretherhede. And ech of theym had sworen upon the book to performe the pointes undernethe at her power, etc. (*Stow's London*, book iii, p. 12.) What they had "sworen" was on all occasions like the following form of oath:—"This here ye Mr. Alderman and all trewe bretheren and sustryn of this Fraternite and Gyld of St. George in Norwich. That fro this day foreward, the honer, prosperites, worchepes, and welfares of this Fraternite and Gyld, after myn power I shall susteyn, carefully mayntene and defenden, and all leful ordinances withoute trouble or grevaunces of the seid bretheren or sustres, or of any officers of them, and buxom be to you Mr. Alderman, and to all your successours aldermen, in all liefull commaundements to myn power and konyng.

"So helpe me God at the holidome and be this book."—(*Blomefield's Norfolk*, iv, 348.) The "holidome" is only a variation of the Anglo-Saxon word "haligdom", or shrine holding relics of a saint: this form of oath, which we find glanced at in *note* 38, p. 396, lasted here in England from Anglo-Saxon times till the days of Protestantism; at the coronation of Edward VI, the Lord Protector finished his "homage" by swearing, "So God help me and all Hallowes"; Cranmer "then kneeled down and made his homage," which he ended in these words, "As God shall help and all Saints."—*Leland's Collectanea*, t. iv, p. 327.

at the gild altar, and from that moment he, along with the rest of the brotherhood, was daily prayed for there. Once admitted, and regularly paying his gild-dues for the space of seven years, each one kept his membership to the end of his days; and it was only a sinful way of life, or the guilt of unfair dealings, which could shut him out of the brotherhood,[51] that otherwise would help him through sudden misfortune or unmerited imprisonment, and uphold him, by a weekly allowance, when fallen into honest poverty, or feeble, sickly old age.[52]

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[50] Fecit cartam signatam quodam sigillo quod solebat pendere ad feretrum sancti Ædmundi unde gilde et fraternaciones solebant sigillari (*Chronica Jocelini De Brakelonda*, p. 2). The writing down of the new brother's name on the gild-roll at the altar, is specified at *note* 52.

[51] Also yf ther be in Bretherhede ony riotour, other contekour, other soche by whom the Bretherhede might be enslaundered, he shal be put out thereof into tyme that he have hym amended of the defaults beforeseid.—*Statutes of St. James's Gild*, quoted by Stow, *Survey of London*, book iii, p. 12.

[52] If any of the foreseid Bretherhede (founded A.D. 1375) falle in soch mischefe that he hath noght, ne for elde other mischeve of feebleness help himself; and have dwelled in the Bretherhede seven yeres; and doen therto al the duties within the tyme, every wyk aftyr, he shal have of the common box xiiij *d.* terme of his lyfe, but he be recoveryd of the mischefe.

Also yf any of the foreseid be imprisoned falsely by any

Whenever a brother or a sister died, all the members who were able came arrayed, not in the

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other, etc. he shal have xiii *d.* during his imprisonment every wyk.—*Stow's London*, book iii, p. 12.

Who so ever by the grace of God is dysposyd to entre into the blessyd fraternyte of the Gylde of our gloryous Savyour cryst Jhũ, and of the blessyd vyrgin and martyr Saynt Barbara foundyd in Saynt Kateryns church next the towre of London, and wyll have the pardon, prevylege and profet thereto graunted and ordeynd: must pay to the seyd fraternyte the some of x *s.* iiij *d.* sterlynge at his first enterynge, if he will; or ellys by leaser within the space of vii yeres; that is to say, at his first entering xii *d.* and every quarter followyng iiij *d.* tyll the seyd x *s.* iiij *d.* be payd in mony, plate or any other honest stufe. And at the first payment he or she that so enteryth in to the seyd fraternyte, whether they be weddyd or single, shal receyve a letter with the seal of the warden collectour, which warden collectour shall receyve his name, and bring it to the auter of the glorious Jhũ and Seynt Barbara in Seynt Kateryns church before seyd, and thereto be regestryde; and there shall be prayed for dayly be name. And when the last payment of the some of x *s.* iiij *d.* is payd; then the seyd brother or syster shall receyve a letter with the common seal of the seyd fraternyte and place with the masters name and wardens therein for the tyme beyng. Whereby he shal have a great commodyte and suerty of lyvynge; that is to sey that yf ever the seyd brother or syster fall in decay of worldely goods, as by sekenes or hurt by the warrys, or uppon the land, or see, or by any other casualte or meanes fallen in poverte: Then yf he brynge the seyd letter sealyd with the seyd common seal,

festive, but the mourning black livery of the gild, to the house of the deceased, and bore forth the

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the master and al the company shal receve him favorably, and there he shal have every weke xiiij *d.* house rome and beddinge, and a woman to wash his clothys, and to dresse his mete: and so to continue yere by yere, and weke by weke durynge his lyfe by the grace of Almighty Jhũ and Seynt Barbara.—*Stow's Survey of London*, book ii, p. 7, edited by Strype.

The gild (of St. George, Norwich) had several poor brothers called *almsmen*, which they allowed a weekly sum to (*Blomefield's Norwich*, iv, 348). In the first year of Mary's reign, A.D. 1553, the gild made an order to buy yearly as much freese as would make xiii gowns to be given to xiii of the xl poor people in God's-house, and each gown to have the "conysance" of the gild on them, viz. a red cross (*ibid.* p. 351). Gilds gave annual charity: stipends to poor persons, found beds and entertainments for poor people that were strangers, and had people to keep and tend the said beds, and did other works of charity.—*Ibid.* vi, 196.

In St. Stephen's church, Coleman-street, London, there was a gild of St. Nicholas, which "the gode men of Coleman street in nourishing of love and of charite among hem and in help to theym that falle into poverte, begon in the yere MCCCLXIX, etc.—*Stow's Survey*, book iii, p. 63. A.D. 1385 there began at Norwich, in honour of St. George, a fraternity of brethren and sisters who, by voluntary subscription, found a chaplain celebrating service every day in the cathedral, for the welfare of the brethren and sisters of the gild, while alive, and their souls when dead. Thus they continued till 5 Henry V, 1416, and then that prince

corpse for its burial. If the departed had been overtaken by death within a certain number of miles away from home, the wardens sent and fetched the body, which was met, just beyond the town, by the whole fellowship.[53] Here spreading their best hearse-cloth[54] over the coffin, the gild carried it

granted them a charter, the original of which is in the gild hall, and by which they were incorporated by the name of "The Alderman, Masters, Brethren, and Sisters of the Fraternity and Gild of St. George in Norwich," with power to choose yearly one alderman and two masters, and to make all reasonable orders and constitutions for their own government, to clothe themselves in one livery, and yearly to hold and make a feast in any convenient place in the city, and to have a common seal, to sue and be sued, and to maintain a chaplain to pray daily for the health of the king, the alderman, masters, brethren, and sisters while alive, and their souls when dead, with license to purchase x *l.* per annum in mortmain. The prior, mayor, sheriffs, and alderman of the gild to have power to expel or remove all members of the gild for any bad behaviour, etc.—*Blomefield's Norfolk*, iv, 347.

[53] Also gif it by falle that eny of the breth'hede falle seeke fyue myle eche wayes aboute London, and dyeth there, that gif the wardaynes of that yer ben ysent aft' than, it is ordeyened that thei schullen wende, and fecche home the body to London'; and that alle the bretheren be redy at her warnynge and go agens the body with outen the citee townes ende, for to bry'ge the body to the place with worschyppe.—*Statutes of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, St. Botolph's, London*, quoted by Hone, *Anc. Mysteries*, pp. 84, 85.

with all due ritual solemnity, bearing lights[55] and chanting psalms about it and before it,[56] as they went to church, where they sang *Placebo*, or even-song that night, and early on the morrow came thither again to sing the *Dirige*, or matins for the dead.[57] This service was followed sometimes only by one, oftener by three solemn Masses, at each of which every brother present went up at offertory-time to the altar and put his mass-penny for

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[54] We have instanced (note 6, further on) two of these beautiful hearse-cloths, which still exist in London; and mentioned with what solemnity they were used by our old Catholic citizens.

[55] The gild of St. Austen's, in Watling-street, London, kept "two torches, with the which, if any of the said fraternity were commended to God, he might be carried to the earth."—*Stow's London*, book iii, p. 140.

[56] In their sorrowful processions, our gilds always told their beads, and said prayers to themselves, as they walked through the streets; if they did not mingle their voices in the singing. All Souls' gild used to meet, for their devotions, in the chapel over the charnel-house, in St. Paul's churchyard,—"On the day of All Souls, at morning prayer, when the bell rung vii o'clock, they came together in the church of Holy Trinity, near Aldgate; and so, from that place, with a grave pace, they walk to the foresaid chappel, numbering their prayers as they went along, and their secret orisons, pouring them out, *vultu cordiali*, with a serious countenance, for the living and the dead, etc.—*Stow's London*, book iii, p. 148.

[57] For the meaning of those services called *Placebo* and *Dirige*, see a note further on.

the good of the departed soul into the hand of the sacrificing priest.[58]

Our latest as our earliest gilds had each its gild-priest, whose duty it was to say, in the chapel or at the altar belonging to the brotherhood, Mass every day for the healthful welfare of the living, and the souls' forgiveness of the departed members.[59] Once at least, if not oftener in the year, all the fellowship met and celebrated a solemn funeral service with *Placebo* on the eve, and early next morning *Dirige*, followed by a grand high Mass of *Requiem* for their deceased brethren, whose names were all read out of the bead-roll by a priest from the pulpit,[60] and thus individually

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[58] The Mass-penny is explained further on.

[59] The priest shall be charged, by the wardens of the year, for to do his mass, winter and summer, by five o'clock, "sayinge by fore masse, duly, a memorie of the Trynytee." (*Registre Boke of the Brethren of the Holy Trinity, St. Botolph's, London*, quoted by Hone in his *Ancient Mysteries*, p. 79.) Besides this, every gild-priest had to go, on Sundays and holydays, and help the priests in the parochial services of the church in which his gild kept their altar. All chantry-priests were bidden by our old English canons to do so. The brotherhood-priest of the gild of the Holy Trinity, at St. Botolph's church, London, was required to be "meke and obedient unto the qwer' in alle divine seruyces durynge hys time, as custome is in the citee amonge alle othe' p'stes."—*Hone's Anc. Mysteries*, p. 79.

[60] In the Sunday next, "aft' alle sowlen day, the preste

brought to the pious remembrance that they might be prayed for by those present, and so be thought

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schal rede, openlyche stondynge in the pulpyte, alle the names of the bretheren and the sustren that ben on lyue." A *Dirige* was also ordained on the Sunday night after "alle sowlen day"; and, on the morrow, a *Requiem* for the dead, "bretheren and sustren"; at which each brother and sister should attend, and offer "an halfe-peny," or be "uppon peyne of a pounde of wexe." (*Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, St. Botolph's, London*, in Hone's *Anc. Mysteries*, p. 79.) Herein we see that, as among the Anglo-Saxon, so with the later English gilds, there was exacted the same sort of fine for the same kind of omission in the discharge of exactly the same duty,—coming to pray for the dead man's soul.

In the reign of Edward IV, among the goods belonging to Holy Trinity brotherhood, in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, London, there was: A rolle of velom' cou'ed with a goldeskyn, conteyng diu'se pagent's paynted and lemenyd with gold, that is to say, of *The Holy Trinite*, Seynt Fabyan and Seynt Sebastyan, and Seynt Botulff, and the last pagent of the terement & gen'all obyte of the brether'n & suster'n that be passed to God; with clayne obseruances & prayers to stere the peple to the more devocion toward the seyde bretherhode. (Hone's *Anc. Mysteries*, p. 82.) By this it would seem that the bead-roll of a gild was often illuminated like those death-bills of which we have spoken, note 34. The way of beginning to read out this bead-roll was as follows: Of your devout charity ye shall pray for all the brethren and systern of the gild of our glorious Saviour Christ Jesu, and of the blessed virgin and martyr, St. Barbara, founded in St. Catharine's church,

of and recommended to God's mercies the while each gild-brother went up with his mass-penny to the altar at offertory-time. When the church service was over, a dole of bread or money was given to the poor.[61]

But the same Christian love which moved them to pray for their brethren's souls when departed, taught them to think about the bodily wants of those among the living to whom old age had brought neediness. Hence we find that belonging to most large gilds there always was a certain number of alms-folks, men and women, kept in

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etc. (*Antiquarian Repertory*, t. i, p. 148.) There is a great variety of "Bidding Prayers" in this same place. A little work, on the same subject, has been published by the Rev. H. O. Cox. Three forms of this prayer, hitherto inedited, are printed in this volume (pp. 355, 358, 369.)

To secure the everlasting prayers of a brotherhood in behalf of a departed soul, just as if the individual, while in this world, had been in its fellowship, living friends might, and often did, procure, by paying a fee, the dead man's admission into a gild. Such a holy kindness, Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, performed towards one of her servants: Maister Richard Peyn, the queene's aulmoigner, for the buryeng of Griffith, late yeoman of the queene's chambre, and for the making of him a broder of Saint Margarett's, at Westminstre,—xiij*s.* iiij*d.*—*Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 97.

[61] Doles, either of money, or bread, food, or fuel in cold weather, were always given to the poor after every solemn Mass for the dead.

food and clothing by the funds of the brotherhood, which, when wealthy enough, had a house apart for its own decayed people, instead, as sometimes happened, of sending them to be lodged in the nearest "God's house" or "spital", for by both these names a hospital for the poor was then called.[62] Here again the truly Catholic wish of helping the souls of the dead by prayer was not forgotten, and twice at least within the day these almsmen and women were summoned to bid their beads at church for all the departed as well as living fellows of their gild.

Made up as our old gilds were of individuals from all ranks in society, often numbering at the same time in their brotherhood the ruling king, with his queen, great earls, noble ladies, churchmen, soldiers, the wealthy citizen, and the lowliest workfolks in the town,[63] it was a wise thought that

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[62] For the kind of dress worn by these poor men, see *note* 52, p. 405.

[63] Brotherhoods comprehended individuals of both sexes, and of all ranks and stations in life. In the year 1476, Sir Henry Ward, Knight; Dame Agnes Hasely; Robert Shoredycke, Squier; The Lady Graa; Raynold Colyer, prior of St. Bartholomua's; The Duchess of Bedford; William Bartram, Esq.; my Lady Ankerasse; Sir Thomas Knolle, vicar of Datchet; are among the "Brethren and Sistern in arrears" noticed in "The churchwardens accompts of St. Margaret's, Westminster", A.D. 1476 (*Illustrations, &c.* p. 2). Belonging to the gild kept in St. Botolph's

of choosing a peculiar dress[64] to be worn by all its members each alike,[65] whenever they were all

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church, Aldersgate, London, there were at its beginning, A.D. 1373, fifty-three "bretheren" and twenty-nine "susteren": during the 10th of Henry IV among them were "Thomas de Berkyng, abbas de Seynt Osyes; Johannes Roos, Armiger; Dominus Johannes Watford, Prior S. Bartholomæi; Ricardus Lancastre, Rex de Armis; Katharina, uxor ejus; Ricardus Haye, Armiger; Johanna, uxor ejus; Rogerus Audelby, Rector de White Chapell"; in the 2nd Henry V "Ricardus Derhem Episcopus Landavensis" was the master of this brotherhood.—*Hone's Ancient Mysteries*, p. 80.

A gild bead-roll often tells us the rank of many among its brotherhood; of this the following may serve as an example: Of your devoute charyte ye shal pray for al the brethern and systern of the gyld of our glorious Savyoure cryst Jhū, and of the blessyde vyrgin and martyr seynt Barbara, foundyd in Seint Katerin's church next to the towre of London. And first, ye shal pray specyally for the gode estate of our soverayne Lord and moost crysten and excellent prince Kyng Henry VIII and Queen Kateryn, founders of the seid Gyld, and gracyous Brotherhod, and brother and syster of the same. And for the good estate of the French Quenys grace Mary, syster to our seyd Soverane Lord, and Syster of the sayd gylde.

¶ Also ye shal pray for the good estate of Thomas Wolsey, of the tytle of seynt Cecylle of Rome preest Cardynal and Legatus a latere to our holy father the Pope, archbyshop of Yorke and Chanceler of England, brother of the same gylde.

¶ Also, for the good estate of the Duke of Buckyngham

gathered together at their meetings. To the outward look, the high became thus brought down,

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and my Lady his wyfe. Also for the good estate of the Duke of Norfolk and my Lady his wife. The Duke of Southfolke.

¶ Also for my Lord Marques. For the Yerle of Shrewysbery; the Yerle of Northumberland; the Yerle of Surrey; my Lorde Hastynges; and for al their Ladies, bretherne and systers of the same.

¶ Also for Sir Rychard Chomely Knyght; Syr Wyllyam Compton Knyght, Syr Wyllyam Skevyngton Knyght, Syr Johan Dygby Knyght, &c. &c. and for al their Ladys, bretherne and systerne of the same that be alyve, and for the sowylles of them that be ded, and for the master and wardens of the same gylde, and the warden collectour of the same. And for the more specyal grace every man of your charyte sey a *Pater noster* and an *Ave*.

¶ And God save the Kynge, the master, and the wardens, and al the bretherne and systern of the same.—*Stow's Survey of London*, edited by Strype, book ii, p. 6.

[64] There is a certain company, or gild, of citizens, who, out of pure devotion and alms, sustain and keep up a light in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, support the divine service, and repair and beautify the said chapel; which gild has been immemorially kept there on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin, and other usual times, and on the gild days, viz., the feasts of St. Mary, they appear in one sort of clothes or livery, of their own buying, for the more decency, etc. (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, t. iii, p. 152.) The livery of St. Christopher's gild, at York, consisted of two colours,—violet, and rayed cloth: My lorde (the earl of Northumberland) useth and accustomyth to pay yerely

the low raised up, to one common level while employed upon one common work of religion. This equality of person was not the only purpose answered: by way of distinguishing in a large city its own fellowship from other like bodies, as well

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to the masters of Saynt Cristofer-gilde of York, if my lorde be brother and my lady, syster ther, for ther brotherhede, for an hole yere, to the said Saynt Cristofer-gilde, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*, after vi*s.* viij*d.* for ather of them.... viz., vi*s.* viij*d.* for my lorde, and vi*s.* viij*d.* for my lady, if sche be at my lord's fyndyngs, and not at hir owen; at such tyme as the masters of the said Saynt Cristofer-gild, of York, bringis my lord and my lady, for their lyverays, a yarde of narrow violette clothe and a yerde of narrow rayd cloth. —*The Northumberland Household Book*, p. 347.

[65] The priest of the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, in St. Botolph's church, without Aldersgate, London, had given him every year, "an dowble hode of the colour of the breth'hode." (Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, p. 79.) Hence we learn there was no difference, in colour, between the gild-livery of a churchman, and that worn by lay-folks, in the same brotherhood; the distinctive mark between them was the make of the garment, as the churchman's was always cut after another fashion from the layman's. The prior of Christ's Church, in the city of London, was sworn alderman of the Portsoken ward, in the first of Richard II. These priors have sitten and ridden amongst the aldermen of London, in livery like unto them, saving that the prior's habit was in shape of a spiritual person,—as I myself have seen in my childhood. (*Stow's Survey of London*, b. ii, p. 58.) By this, we find out that the prior's, like the aldermen's, livery was scarlet.

as to throw around itself a certain degree of fitting splendour, every gild adopted a peculiar ceremonial dress, or as the usage then was to call it—livery. This consisted of a gown of one, and hood generally of another chosen colour: upon the latter article of the clothing was, if not always, at least often, worn a particular badge, called the "cognizance" of the gild. This ornament was worked in embroidery upon one of the gown sleeves,[66] but oftener just below the left shoulder in front upon the hood,[67] in the same place where, if the cogni-

[66] When King Henry VI came back to England after being crowned at Paris, "he was mette upon Baram Downe with a great company of gentyles and comoners of Kent all cladde with rede hodes .... at Blak Heth he was mette with the mayer and the cytezeyns of London .... the cytezeyns beyng cladde in white with dyvers werkes or conysaunces browderyd upon their slevys, after the facultie of theyr mysterys or craftes, and the mayer and his brether were all clothed in scarlet." (*Fabyan's Chronicles*, ed. Ellis, p. 603.) As the civil followed the religious gilds in all their customs; they too had each their holy patron; no doubt, therefore, these "conysaunces" were for every trade its own tutelar saint or his emblem. The brethren of St. George's gild, Norwich, had on their livery as a cognizance "a red cross" (see *note* 52, p. 405), which was of course on a white field or ground. The cognizance of the Jesus gild, London, were the letters I. H. S. as we learn from the next note.

[67] The xvj day of Feybruary (A.D. 1557) was bered master Pynoke fysmonger—and brodur of Jhesus, with ij

zance happened, as it sometimes did, to be wrought of solid silver, it also used to be stuck like a pin or brooch.[68] These cognizances exhibited either the figure, or the well-known symbol of the patron.

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goodly whytt branchys, and xij grett stayffes torchys; and xij pore men had good blake gownes; and iiij grett tapurs and a the compene of the clarkes and mony prestes, and then cam the mornars, and after the bredurud of Jhesus, a xxiiij of them, with blake saten hodes with I.H.S. on them, and after the compene of the Fysmongers in ther leverey, etc. (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 166). The black satin hoods were most likely the mourning attire of that gild.

[68] Among the "Jewells that longith unto our Lady chirche", there was "a lytell .... of seynt Christophoris brethered of sylver of vi ounces" (*Boys's Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 374). Probably the wanting word is "nowch" or brooch. As it weighed so much, this ornament must have been rather large, and seems to have been, in olden times, a favourite adornment with those who loved field sports, since Chaucer's "Yeman", who

> "was cladde in cote and hode of grene";

also wore

> "A cristofre on his brest of silver shene."

The Prologue, etc. Works, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, ii, 4.

The old gild-hood, as well as the canon's furred amys, and the layman's, and every other kind of hood, in olden times, consisted of two parts: the lower, and broader one, overspreading the shoulders, like a tippet; the higher, and smaller one, which could be drawn up, and worn over the head, as a full, roomy cap. Not being slit open in front, it had to be put on by passing the head up through its throat, which held the upper and the under parts together.

Thus was it that all our old brotherhoods were arrayed whenever they gathered for their devotions

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The Dominican and the Austin friars still keep to the use of this old and once common garment, in the dress of their respective orders; and the bishop's mozetta is a representation of it, with this difference,—that the old hood was close all round, whereas the mozetta is cut in front, and has to be buttoned down the breast; and the little bag-like appendage is a dwarf representation of the large round cap which once did serve for covering the head, while the older garment was worn. At Oxford and Cambridge, whenever a sermon is preached before the university, the beadle of the church pins upon the preacher's shoulder, just as he is stepping into the pulpit, a small black silk representative of the academic hood or liripip, but now so tiny as to be scarce large enough to cover one's hand. Such, however, is the official importance which university tradition has bestowed upon this little ornament, that some maintain a meeting to be of no authority if presided over by a proctor from whose back this very diminutive representation of the ancient liripippium has been plucked though stealthily; and a rash under-graduate sometimes tries to achieve this dangerous exploit.

All the dresses I have as yet met with that have been lately devised for our gilds, happily springing up all over the country, look anything but seemly and becoming; and are as wide apart in colours, shape, and ornament, from the gild-clothing of olden times, as they are in those phrases employed to specify their different parts. "Collar and shield", in their modern application, are words unknown to English Catholic antiquity, no less than those ornaments themselves, which are more like the components of a military and secular, than of a religious badge.

about their own altar, or walked forth in procession with a cross, and a banner figured with their patron-saint borne aloft before them. The alderman or head officer of the gild might easily be known, not merely by his place amid the brotherhood, but by the additional ornaments about his robes; and the white, or green, or other coloured wands which they carried in their hands, marked out the dignified officials who acted under him.[69] On festive occasions their processional march as well as grand dinner was enlivened by the sprightly strains of music, which arose from a band of minstrels gaily dressed.[70] But it was upon the Saint's day of the gild that all its bravery and magnificence were shown, and even these were brought to yield their chiefest homage to the Almighty. Each gild's first steps were bent towards their church, where solemn high Mass was chanted; thence went all the brotherhood to their hall for the festive dinner. The processions on the occasion and other amusements so dear to Englishmen, when their country was merry England, were meant to be edifying and

[69] The use of white and green wands is mentioned in *note* 2 further on, p. 447.

[70] The parish clerks and sextons, with their banner, wayts, and minstrels, hold their gild on Corpus Christi day (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, i, 207). The gay costume of our English minstrels might once be seen in the five coloured figures which still adorn the pier which their gild built in the beautiful church of St. Mary's, Beverley.

instructive; and helped religion to make her children both good and happy, through even their recreations. This present age, with its stepmother's chill heart, dull eye, and hard iron-like feelings, that sees naught but idleness in a few hours' harmless pause from toil, and knows nothing but unthriftiness in money spent in pious ceremonial, and thinks that the God who sprinkled the blue heaven with silvery stars, and strewed the green earth with sweet-breathing flowers of a thousand hues, and taught the birds to make every grove ring with their blithe songs, and told the little brook to run forth with a gladsome ripple, all in worship of Himself, can be best and most honoured by the highest and noblest of His wonderful works, the soul of man, the more gloomy, the more mopish, the sourer it is; such an age will not understand the good which, in a moral and social point of view, was bestowed upon this country by the religious pageants, and pious plays and interludes of a by-gone epoch. Through such means, however, not only were the working classes furnished with a needful relaxation, but their very merry-makings instructed while they diverted them.

From far and near the people hurried to behold the gild-processions; and well they might, for the whole scene was gladdening and splendid. Among our countrymen there is and ever has been a fondness for the simple beauties of nature, especially

for those small though lovely works of God—flowers. No one more deeply than an Englishman understands how Solomon in all his glory was not so beauteously arrayed as is the lily of the field. It was, however, while these heart-bred feelings lay under soul-stirring warm Catholic, instead of chill Protestant, control, that they showed themselves in the best because the holiest light; for then Englishmen used to think, and truly so, that God's own sweet creations should be brought, along with man's devices, though most ably done, to yield a homage to their common Maker by being employed in giving more solemnity to God's public worship. Hence arose various ritual customs, as pleasing to the eye, as their symbolism was instructive to the mind of him who witnessed them: the lighted taper set before the blessed Virgin's image was wreathed with flowers;[71] that of the saint, the patron of a gild, had a garland of fresh gathered roses put upon its head the day the brotherhood came to church and kept their festival;[72] the English maiden bride was

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[71] Cereum quoque quem floribus consuevimus redimire constituit (abbas Gulielmus) accendi ante nobilem Mariolam diebus ac noctibus festorum præcipuorum, et in processione quæ fit in commemoratione ejusdem.—*Matt. Paris, Vitæ Abb. S. Albani*, p. 81.

[72] The tailors' gild at Salisbury kept a chantry priest to say Mass in their patron-saint's chapel—St. John the Baptist's—in St. Thomas's church; and by their statutes "the two stewards for the time being, every year shall make

crowned with flowers as well as jewels when she walked into church and bowed her down for the marriage blessing at the sacrament of wedlock; midsummer was hallowed as a Christian festival in Catholic England: "on the vigil of St. John Baptist, and on St. Peter and Paul the Apostles, every man's door (in London) being shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpin, white lillies, and such like, garnished upon with beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass, with oyl burning in them all night. Some hung out branches of iron curiously wrought, containing hundreds of lamps lighted at once, which made a goodly shew".[73]

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and set afore St. John the Baptist, upon the altar, two tapers of one pound of wax, and a garland of roses to be set upon St. John's head; and the chapel is to be strewed with green rushes". (*MS. Register of the gild.*) In some places this saint's feast was kept after another and very symbolic way. To express how the forerunner of our Lord lived houseless in the wilderness with naught but the trees to shelter him, the walls of the church used on that day to be stuck all over with fresh green boughs; and the very tapers themselves burned at Mass, and the other ritual services of that festival, were made of green wax: among the chapel expenses of Winchester school, 8th and 9th of Henry IV, is the following entry, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. W. H. Gunner: In viridibus candelis et ramis arborum emp: erga festum Nat. Sc̄i Joh. Bap. xiii *d.*

[73] *Stowe's London*, book i, p. 256. Good old Stowe, who witnessed the putting down of the old, and the coming in

In giving joyful splendour to a gild-procession, flowers were not forgotten: as we mentioned before,[74] our clergy, in the olden times of England, observed a ritual custom, no less beautiful to the eye than seemly from all its symbolic meanings, of going through the divine service, on some of the higher festivals in the year, crowned with garlands woven of the prettiest and sweetest smelling flowers. Thus was it, that wearing wreaths of crimson roses on their heads, did the new bishop, Roger de Walden and the canons of his cathedral, walk forth in solemn procession as he went to be enthroned in his episcopal chair at St. Paul's, London, A.D. 1405, on the 30th of June, the feast of that Apostle: this we are told by one who was there and saw the sight.[75] Till the latest days of

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of the new religion in England, lets us know the change for the worse in the manners of the people: "The youth of this city (of London) also have used, on holidays, after evening prayer, at their masters' doors, to exercise their wasters and bucklers; and the maidens, one of them playing on a timbrel, in sight of their masters and dames, to dance for garlands hanging thwart the streets; which open pastimes in my youth, being now suppressed, worser practices within doors are to be feared."—*Ibid.* p. 251.

[74] See p. 72 of this volume.

[75] Die (Commemorationis S. Pauli) tam ipsemet episcopus (Rogerus de Walden) quam omnes canonici ejusdem ecclesiæ usi sunt in processione solemni garlandis de rosis rubris; et qui vidit ista et interfuit, testimonium perhibet

Mary's reign, such a becoming ritual usage lasted here in England; and often did "Chep and Cornhylle and Byshopegatt" resound with the "waytes playing" and the "qwre syngyng *Salve festa dies*", as the "felowshype of clarkes went their procession two and two together, each having a surples and a ryche cope and a garland".[76] This was not all;

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de his et scripsit hæc. — *Historiola Londinensis*, apud Wharton, *Hist. de Ep. et Dec. Londin.* p. 150.

[76] *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, edited by J. G. Nichols, for the Camden Society, pp. 63, 88. With regard to the "ryche copes" spoken of above by this worthy citizen of London, such was their general beauty and value, that at the plunder of the church by Edward VI, an especial and distinguished officer was appointed to receive and keep them: master Arthur Sturtun was the reyseyver of all copes of cloth of gold that was taken out of all churches, and he dyd delever them unto serten parryches agayne to them that cowld know them, etc.—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 165.

The singing, the music, the lights, and the numbers of coped priests employed to give splendour to our old English processions in towns, may be observed in the following description of one which used to be made by the mayor and corporation of Sandwich every year to St. Bartholomew's hospital at that sea-port: Solent omni anno in die sancti Bartholomei major et communitas, cum solempni processione tam omnium presbiterorum et clericorum ville predicte quam laicorum, locum illum visitare, ita videlicet quod presbiteri in suo ordine et cereis, in capis et ceteris vestimentis eua cantantes quos precedant laici suo ordine, cum tubis et omni melodia quorum quilibet usque ad nu-

the very wax torches which these garlanded gild-priests carried burning in their hands, were, for some of their processions, not only painted, but entwined with wreaths of flowers.[77]

Other gild processions there were that had more of pageantry about them: in these a gild brother personating his fellowship's, and the nation's patron St. George, brought up, on horse-back, the long gild procession, our warrior-saint himself glittering in burnished armour, or otherwise sumptuously attired, bestriding a stately pacing steed trapped in velvet housings, and having by his side a gild-sister arrayed as St. Margaret, and mounted on her palfrey, both saints—emblems of the Christian Church—leading between them, overcome and bound in a silken halter, the scaly dragon, the well-

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merum $\frac{xx}{vij}$ et amplius fereat cereum in manu sua — qui quidem cerei offerri debent in ecclesia dicti hospitalis et locari super candelabra et alias trabes ad hoc assignatas, etc.—*Ex Lib. custumali villæ Sandivici*, ed. Boys, *Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 87.

[77] The xxiiij day of May (A.D. 1554) was Corpus Christi day, and ther wher mony goodly prosessyons in mony parryches, for mony had long torchys garnyshyed in the old fassyouns and stayffe torchys bornyng and mony canopies borne abowtt the strett, etc. (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 63). In the parochial accompts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, are to be found the following items, during Queen Mary's reign, from which we see that "garnyshyd in the old fassyoun" meant that the torches were painted, and afterward wreathed with natural flowers:—

known type of the devil, sin, and unbelief:[78] in another gild-procession, the giant St. Christopher

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Payde for garnyshyng the iiij torches for Corpus Christye day ij *s.*

flowres to the same torches vj *d.*

Payde for flowres for the torches on Corpus Christie day vij *d.*

for v staf torches x *s.* x*d.*

for the garnyshyng of them xx *d.*

Payde for iiij newe torchis wayeng lxxxxij li. di. at v *d.* the li, xxxviij *s.* viij *d.*

for garnysshyng of the sayd iiij torchis xx *d.*

for flowres the same day iiij *d.*

p. 400, *ibid.* Processional torches, especially for cardinals, are to this day, at Rome, still painted with various colours.

[78] The inventory taken, A.D. 1468, of the "jewells, etc." belonging to St. George's gild, Norwich, mentions a scarlet gown for the George with blue garters. A coat armour for the George beaten with silver. iv banners of the same work, with the arms of St. George, for the trumpets. A banner with St. George's image, another with his arms. A chaplet for the George, with an owche of copper gilt, and all horse furniture. A dragon, a basnet, a pair of gauntlets, two white gowns for the heynsmen (henchmen), a sword, the scabbard covered with velvet and bossed (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, iv, 349). The "George" of this inventory, was one of the gild-brothers, who was magnificently dressed and rode on horseback, accompanied by one of the sisters, also mounted, representing St. Margaret, who, as well as the warrior saint, overcame her dragon. A.D. 1534, it was ordered that "Philip Foreman be George this year, and to have £10 for his labour and finding

came bearing our Lord, in the likeness of a little boy, upon his shoulder; and as he walked along, his presence told the crowd to beware and carry Christ always about them, in all their ways, by holiness of life.

Besides the solemn high Mass, besides the dinner with its minstrelsy, and the gay pageant with its music, the gild, if it were rich enough, celebrated its patron Saint's day by having a religious play

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apparel." 1537. "Bought for apparel of the George and Margaret, eight yards tawny, and four yards crimson velvet, to be in the custody of the alderman." Every man was to have a hood of sanguine and red, and wear it at the feast. —348, *ibid.*

Among the things to be sold after "the alteration of the old ordinances" by those sour men of the new learning, in the second year of Edward VI, belonging to this same gild, were "a jerkin of crimson velvet; a cap of russet velvet; a coat armour of white damask with a red cross; a horse harness of black velvet with copper buckles gilt, for the George; a horse harness of crimson velvet with flowers of gold, for the Lady; divers banners, etc." The "Lady" was the personification of St. Margaret (351, *ibid.*). In Mary's reign, the people had their innocent amusements given back to them, and A.D. 1556, "a gown of crimson velvet pirled with gold", was bought for the George, *ibid.*; but in the first year of Elizabeth the representations of the Saints were forbidden, and it was only the emblem of Satan that the people were allowed to look upon: in 1558, it was ordered "that ther shall be neyther George nor Margaret, but for pastime the dragon to come in and shew himself as in other yeres".—*Ibid.*

performed.[79] These sacred interludes became at an early period and long remained great favourites with Englishmen; and whilst they spoke of Christ and of his saints, stirred up a warm religious feeling in the people's hearts.[80] Fitz-Stephen, a

[79] At the gild-days, there were grand processions made by the brothers and sisters of St. Thomas à Becket's gild, to his chapel in the wood near Norwich, and interludes played; with good cheer after them (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, iv, 426); and, in fact, among the expenses of brotherhoods, items are found for the dresses, the music, and the singing, employed in those sacred plays: for the gild of the Holy Trinity kept at St. Botolph's without, Aldersgate, London, some of the common yearly charges were "for costis on the Trynyte Sonday & on the evin, for mete & drynk & stately clothes, mynstrelles, synger, etc."—*Hone's Ancient Mysteries*, p. 84.

[80] There were two kinds of sacred plays; of the first, which may be called liturgical, were such as the younger clergy acted with much ritual solemnity at church during service, and were meant to set before the people's eyes in a strong light some portion of Holy Writ which spoke of the mystery commemorated in that festival; of the second, were those performances which lasted several days, going through the whole sacred history from Adam to our Divine Redeemer's resurrection, and were acted by laymen as well as clerks, during fair weather, in the church-yard, when it was cold or rainy, in some wide lofty hall. Of the first or liturgical sort of representations, traces may be found in the Anglo-Saxon ritual; St. Dunstan especially lays down the rubric for the one exhibited upon Easter Sunday morning, and which was kept up in this country till it changed its religion: In die sancto Paschæ septem

writer of the twelfth century, tells us how London, before and during his time, had stronger likings

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canonicæ horæ a monachis in ecclesia Dei more canonicorum . . . celebrandæ sunt. . . . Dum tertia recitatur lectio, quatuor fratres induant se, quorum unus alba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum ingrediatur, atque latenter sepulchri locum adeat, ibique manu tenens palmam quietus sedeat dumque tertium percelebratur responsorium residui tres succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti turibula cum incensu manibus gestantes, ac pedetentim ad similitudinem quærentium quid, veniant ad locum sepulchi: aguntur enim hæc ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento, atque mulierum cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Jesu. Cum ergo ille residens tres velut erroneos ac aliquid quærentes viderit sibi adproximare incipiat mediocri voce dulcisonè cantare *Quem quæritis*, quo decantato fine tenus, respondeant hi tres uno ore *Jesu Nazarenum*; quibus ille, *Non est hic, surrexit sicut prædixerat. Ite, renunciate quia surrexit a mortuis.* Cuius missionis voce vertant se illi tres ad chorum dicentes, *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus*, etc.—*Regularis Concordia S. Dunstani* (ed. Reynero, p. 89, *ex. MS. Cott. Tib.* a III). St. Osmund retained this Easter representation, but in his Treatise, it is merely noticed as the "Processio ante matutinas die Pasche" (See the *Third Part*, p. 53, chap. lxxxi, of this work); and that it was, as well as the other liturgical sacred interludes, always given at Salisbury cathedral, is clear from the list of ornaments belonging to that church, A.D. 1222, for among them are mentioned: Corone ij de latone ad representationes faciendas (*ibid.* p. 101). In those parts of England wherein the Sarum rite was followed, such liturgical plays were enjoined in the Church's service; Hugh Nonant, bishop of Lichfield, in his Statutes, issued

for sacred than secular representations, and much more willingly gazed upon plays setting forth those miracles wrought by the confessors, and the torments undergone by the martyrs of God's church, than upon any kind of worldly theatrical spectacles.[81] When the weather was fair, these sacred

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A.D. 1194, speaks of them as usual and common observances: In nocte Natalis representatio pastorum fieri consuevit, et in diluculo Paschæ representatio Resurrectionis Dominicæ, et peregrinorum representatio die Lunæ in hebdomada Paschæ, sicut in libris super his et aliis compositis continetur, etc. (*Wilkins, Concil,* t. i, p. 497.) As in England, so abroad, these sacred interludes were made a part of the ritual, for St. Osmund's countryman and cotemporary, John of Avrenches, takes notice of them in his *Liber De Officiis Ecclesiasticis,* p. 39; and in his edition of that precious work, Prevot has given from MS. ordinals of Rouen cathedral, the rubrics and the music for some of these services, pp. 117, 206, 211: in our own churchwardens' accounts, the item so often to be found paid at Christmas "for leading the star", is another evidence to show that these performances were used in the smallest of our parish churches. Those sacred plays of the second kind became great favourites among the English, and Fitz Stephen, the friend and familiar of St. Thomas, of Canterbury, lets us know that in his times the Londoners were especially fond of them:—

[81] Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, repræsentationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu repræsentationes passionum, quibus claruit constantia martyrum. *Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar.* a Stephanide, al. Fitz-Stephen, ed.

plays, or as they were sometimes called, "mysteries", were acted in the church-yard,[82] or any other

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Sparke, p. 7. Other large towns exhibited them, and from the record of a miracle wrought at the shrine of St. John of Beverley, we learn what crowds used to flock to the church-yard of that beautiful minster to behold them when they were acted there in the open air:—

[82] Contigit, ut tempore quodam æstivo (seculo xiii) intra septa polyandri ecclesiæ B. Joannis (Beverlacensis) ex parte aquilonari, larvatorum (ut assolet) et verbis et actu fieret repræsentatio Dominicæ Resurrectionis. Confluebat eo copiosa utriusque sexus multitudo, variis inducta votis, delectationis videlicet seu admirationis causa vel sancto proposito excitandæ devotionis. Cum vero, præ densa vulgi astante corona, pluribus et præcipue statura pusillis desideratus minime pateret accessus, introierunt plurimi in ecclesiam ut vel orarent, vel picturas inspicerent, vel per aliquod aliud genus recreationis et solatii pro hoc die tædium evitarent. Ingressi igitur ecclesiæ limina adolescentuli quidam, casu fortuito ostium quoddam reperiunt semiapertum quo per gradus ascenditur ad superiora murorum. Eo accurrentes levitate puerili, gradatim insuper, murales ascendebant basilicæ testudines, ea ut reor intentione, ut per altas turriculorum fenestras, seu si qua vitrearum fenestrarum essent foramina, liberius personarum et habitus et gestus respicerent et earumdem dialogos auditu faciliori adverterent, etc.—*Mirac. S. Joannis Beverlacensis*, apud *AA. SS. Maji*, t. ii, p. 189. In a parchment roll containing the names of the mayors and bailiffs of Lincoln, beginning with the 34th of Edward III, among other things worthy of record, notice is taken of "Ludus de Pater Noster hoc anno; Ludus Sc̄i Laurentii; Ludus

open spot; otherwise, they were performed in the gild-hall, if not within the church itself.[83] So fond indeed did the people show themselves of these representations from Holy Writ, and the Saints' lives, that they were acted, in celebrating all the higher festivals of the year,[84] not only before

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Sc̄e Susanne; Ludus de Sc̄o Jacobo; Ludus Corpus Xpi". York, Chester, and Coventry, were each celebrated for the splendour of their sacred dramas.

[83] What Polydor Vergil, who was a canon of Wells cathedral, says of his native land, Italy, may be understood of England: Solemus vel more priscorum spectacula edere populo... item in templis vitas divorum ac martyria representare in quibus ut cunctis par sit voluptas, qui recitant vernaculam linguam tantum usurpant. (*Polydorus Vergilius, De Invent. Rerum*, lib. v, cap. ii, p. 302.) That such plays were called "mysteries," we are told by Matthew Paris, as is shown in note 89, further on, p. 434.

[84] It would seem that, in keeping the saint's day of a parish, the village festival was often enlivened by a public dinner, followed by a sacred play; and, as all the country round came and saw, the neighbourhood was asked to help, by subscriptions, to discharge the expenses of it, letting what might be over go to the good of the parish chest. Proofs of this abound in the churchwardens' accounts of a play of the holy martyr, St. George, on St. Margaret's festival, acted in a croft at Basingbourne, Cambridgeshire. The subscriptions towards it, from the neighbouring towns, are put down; and mention is made of "garment men, minstrel waits from Cambridge, players, the setting up of the stage.... to John Recher for paynting of three fanchoms (fantoms) and four tormentors; to John Hobarde,

a gild brotherhood, but in the King's palace,[85] the Abbot's chamber,[86] and the baron's stronghold.[87]

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brotherhood priest, for the play-book, ii*s.* viii*d.* (*Antiquarian Repertory*, t. i, p. 167.) Again, we find the proceeds of another such festival, thus noticed:—

> Receyved and gathered in redy money
> and other resayts, x*l.* xiii*s.* ij*d.*
>
> Paymentes,—
> To the pagentt players,
> For goulde forrall,
> For baryng of the boke,
> To 5 payr of gloves,
> To the minstrell,
> Towards the gyldeyng of the tabernikell,
> Paide to Colben, for hys tabor,
> For payntyng of the cote armes,
> To Floowe that played the folle,
> and so remayneth clere above all charge, vii*l.* x*s.*

—*Illustrations*, etc. p. 181.

[85] Down to the latest days of Catholicism, our kings delighted in these plays; for Christmas day, A.D. 1538, the Household book of Henry VIII, presents us this item: "Mr. Crane, for plaing w^t^ the children before y^e^ King, vj *l.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*" The "children" were the singing boys of the royal chapel.

[86] In some monasteries, there was a large room allotted especially for the acting of these plays: Pro nova tectura unius cameræ vocatæ le Playerchambre, A.D. 1464. (*The Priory of Finchale*, p. ccxcviii, published by the Surtees Society.) Moreover, among the records of some religious houses are to be found other evidences of these per-

Though not always, yet often, the youths brought up in the schools belonging to our cathedrals—

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formances. In the burser's roll of the Priory of Durham, A.D. 1355, are the following entries:—

To the players—istrionibus—of our Lord the Bishop, and the two players of the Earl of Northampton, at the feast of St. Cuthbert, in March, vi *s.* viij *d.*

To the players at the feast of St. Cuthbert, in September, vi *s.* viij *d.*—*Raine's St. Cuthbert*, p. 109.

For wine to the Lord Prior in the games—ludus—at the feast of All Saints (A.D. 1378), v *s.*

For wine at Easter at the Prior's game, iij *s.* viiij *d.*

For the singers at the game, iij *s.* iv *d.*—*Ibid.* p. 118.

A.D. 1381, wine bought for the prior and his associates, at the four games in his apartments—camera—and other places, xxv *s.*

For the singers playing at Beaurepaire, iij *s.* iv *d.*—*Ibid.* p. 120.

To the singers playing at the Houk before the Nativity, ij *s.* iv*d.*

Gloves and money given to a minstrel at the Prior's game, iij *s.*

For wine given to the brethren at the games of the Lord Prior, and at home in the chamber—solarium—and infirmary, viij *s.* (*ibid.* 136.) "In vino dato in ludis Domini Prioris", is an item to be found in the rolls of Finchale Priory.

[87] To one of the six or seven priests who were always kept, during Catholic days, in large English households, for the daily celebration of the divine service, did it belong to write these sacred plays; and the singing-boys acted some of them in the chapel, other some in the great hall of

nay, the young clerks themselves who served those churches, were the actors;[88] and the richest copes of some rich minster were occasionally borrowed to be worn on the occasion.[89]

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the baronial castle. In the household of the Earl of Northumberland there were six chaplains, "viz., the almonar, and if he be a maker of interludys than he to have a servaunt to the intent for writynge of the parts, and ells to have non" (*The Northumberland Household Book*, p. 44, London, 1827). My Lord useth and accustomyth to gyfe yerely if his Lordship kepe a chapell and be at home them of his Lordschipes chapell if they doo play the play of the Nativite uppon Cristynmes-Day in the mornnynge in my Lords chapell befor his Lordship .... xx*s.* (*ibid.* p. 343.) In reward of them of his Lordship chappell and other his Lordshipis servaunts that doith play the play before his Lordship uppon Shroftewsday at night.... x*s.* (*ib.* p. 345); to them, etc. that playth the play of Resurrection upon Esturday in the mornnynge in my Lordis "chapell" befor his Lordshipe ... xx*s.*—*Ibid.*

[88] In the year 1378, the scholars of St. Paul's school presented a petition to Richard II, praying his majesty to prohibit some inexpert people from representing the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the said clergy, who had been at great expense in order to represent it publicly at Christmas.—Dodsley's Preface to a *Collection of Old Plays.*

[89] Venit vocatus ab abbate Richardo, dum adhuc sæcularis esset (Gaufridus abbas) ut scholam apud Sanctum Albanum regeret.... Legit igitur apud Dunestapliam expectans scholam Sancti Albani sibi repromissam, ubi quendam ludum de Sancta Katerina quem miracula vulga-

Instead of lending new fire, like too many theatrical exhibitions of these times, to the unhallowed warmth of a sinful heart, these sacred plays helped to cool it, by teaching men to know there was a God to love and fear,[90] a heaven to win, saints to follow thither, a devil to withstand, a hell to dread. To these scriptural performances, as to every thing else which was old and Catholic, did the bulk of our people cling,[91] until, along with the rest of

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riter appellamus fecit. Ad quæ decoranda petiit a sacrista Sancti Albani, ut sibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit.—*Matt. Paris in Vitis Abb. S. Albani*, p. 35.

[90] In his prologue to a play to be acted upon Candlemas-day and called "The Killing of the Children of Israel", the writer says:

The last yeer we shewid you, and in this place,
How the shepherds of Crist by the made letification,
And thre kyngs that ycome fro the cuntrees be grace
To worship Jesu with enteer devotion;
And now we propose . . . . . .
. . . . to shew you our Ladies purification.
* * * *
Frends, this processe we propose to play as we can,
Before you all here in your presens,
To the honour of God, our Lady, and seynt Anne, etc.

—*Hawkins, Origin of the English Drama*, t. i, p. 6.

[91] How delighted all classes of the people used to be with these pious and scriptural interludes we learn from Dugdale, who says (*Warwickshire*, p. 116), "I have been told by some old people who, in their younger years, were eye-witnesses of these pageants so acted, that the yearly confluence of people to see that shew was extraordinary great", etc.

those ancient and more important observances of our national Church, they were wrenched by wily statesmen from them; yet, in spite of government, these pious interludes were kept up in several towns many years after the introduction of Protestantism.[92]

The shattered frame of many an old English gild-hall still remains, and its standing place may be always found hard by the church wherein the brotherhood kept up the chapel of their patron saint, around the altar of which all their beadsmen, and often some one or other of themselves, daily knelt at Mass, and, before they rose to go away, said a prayer in behalf of the souls departed. Though in the country parish and the lonely hamlet, this building was but a little yet well-arranged house, overlooking, if not within the church-yard wall itself,[93] in the busy town, and wealthy city, it

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[92] There was a play, A.D. 1409, at Skinners' Hall (London) which lasted eight days (saith Stow), to hear which most of the greatest estates of England were present. The subject of the play was the sacred Scriptures from the creation of the world: they call this Corpus Christi play in my country, which I have seen acted at Preston, and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall, in the beginning of the reign of K. James; for which the townsmen were sore troubled, and upon good reasons the play finally suppressed, not only there, but in all other towns of the kingdom.—*Weever's Monuments*, p. 191.

[93] At Diss, in Norfolk, there were in the parish church

arose in all the grandeur and the beauty which the sister-arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, could bestow upon it, and showed, as that of St. Mary's, at Coventry, still does, the taste and the wealth, while it bore witness to the cheerful doings and kindly hospitalities of its Catholic first owners, under whom, the morning after a "gaudè" day, hundreds of the poor had given them at its kitchen hatch, food enough to furnish forth more meals than one.[94]

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two gilds, and the gild-hall was common to them both, being the same that is now standing at the south-east corner of the churchyard, which was granted to the inhabitants, and is now used for the charity school-house. It was at that time well furnished for the merry meetings of the brethren and sisters of those gilds, etc. (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, t. i, p. 33.) The house on the south side of the churchyard of Oxburgh belonged to one of the gilds there, and is called in old writings the gild-hall; and the house on the east side of the said churchyard was another gild-hall, and belonged to that of *Corpus Christi*, the ceilings being painted and beautified with the portraiture of our Saviour, the five wounds, etc., as may be observed to this day.—*Ibid.* t. vi, p. 196.

[94] Speaking of what he is pleased to call "the jolly doings of these gilds", Blomefield says, "but as the poor of the parish always were partakers with them, I much question whether their revenues were not better spent then, than they have been since they were rapaciously seized, etc. (*Norfolk*, t. v, p. 278.) Blomefield was a minister of the Protestant Establishment. Many documents still re-

But among the first and warmest hallowed yearnings which at all times filled the hearts of our old English gild brothers and sisters, one was to shed beauty all about God's own house, the church, and throw a becoming splendour around the solemnities of our one, same, unchanged, unchangeable belief. Seldom did it happen but the gild chapels became at last the richest and most dazzling in the church; as a symbol of what they wished each one of their own souls to be in their Maker's sight—ever watching, wakeful,—in the eye of man—shining by a life spent in good works and holiness—often was it that their funds supported the wax taper gleaming at the foot of Christ upon the cross in the rood-loft—fitting emblem of the wall between heaven and earth,—or supplied the lights kept

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main to tell us of the mirth and plenty of those gild-feast dinners: "In the feasts of the fraternity of the Holy Cross in Abbington they spent yearly six calfs which cost two shillings and two pence a piece, sixteen lambs at twelve pence a piece, above four score capons at three pence a piece, eight hundred eggs at five pence a hundred, besides many marrow bones, much fruit and spice, and a great quantity of milk, cream, and flour.

"Upon those days of rejoicing withal they used to have twelve minstrels, viz., six from Coventry and six from Maidenhead, for which and for other uses of the fraternity, William Dyer, vicar of Bray in Berks, gave them five tenements and lands in Abbington."—*Leland's Itin.* t. vii, p. 72, note by Hearne.

burning night and day near the adorable Eucharist as over the high altar, within a golden pix shrouded by a cloud-like canopy, it hung midway between the chancel's ceiling and its floor, to tell us that the earth was not worthy to be touched by this second and better manna rained to us from heaven. The poor man's books, the stained-glass window, and the paintings in the church, were often put up and done at the joint cost and the pious bidding of the brothers and sisters of a gild.[95] The songs of praise and the hymns at solemn public worship upon the Lord's own day each week, and upon the holy-days throughout the year, wafted heavenward, now in strains of the softest, slowest, sweetest tone that seemed to weep and sigh, yet breathe as hope-

[95] In the east window of the north aisle of Kingland church, Norfolk, several persons are figured kneeling before a crucifix, and with labels—*S'ca Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis*, underneath—*Orate p. fratrib; et sororib; gilde S'ce Trinitatis qui fieri fecerunt istam fenestram* (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, viii, 254). On one of the windows in Beeston church was the following inscription, to say that St. Mary's gild, held therein, had put up no less than eight windows: Orate specialiter p. salubri statu fratrum et soror. gilde gloriose Virginis Marie cujus honori hec dedicatur eccl'ia et omnium viventium benefactor. eorund. et p. a'ab. omnium fratrum et soror. defunctor. ejusd. gilde ac etiam p. a'ab. defunctor. benefactor. eorund. qui propriis expensis et pecuniis eidem gilde habende largitis has octo fenestras vitro fieri devote curaverunt. A°.MCCCCX.—*Ib.* ix, 465.

ful of forgiveness, then gushing out in all the overpowering flood, the full swelling majesty of tuneful jubilation, that the cunning art of the musicianer could think of, breathed, too, in the mellowest, roundest, most silvery notes that the lips of the many choristers, robed, angel-like, in long white surplices, knew how to waken, were as often provided by the same brotherhoods. But that was not all; their still untiring labours must go on till they made, what at first had been their little lowly unknown chapel, take its place of beauty high up amid the beautiful churches of England.[96]

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[96] The chife Paroche Chirche (at Boston) was St. John's, where yet is a chirche for the toune. St. Botolph's was but a chapel to it. But now it is so risen and adournid that it is the chifiest of the toune, and for a paroche chirce the beste and fayrest of al Lincolnshire, and servid so with singging, and that of cunning men, as no paroche is in al England. The society and Bretherhodde longging to this chirche hath caussid this, and now much land longgith to this society (*Leland's Itin.* t. vii, p. 37). Of the town of Ludlow, the same writer remarks: There is but one paroch church in the towne (of Ludlowe), but that is very fayre, and large, and richly adorned. This church hath been much advanced by a brother-hood therein founded in the name of St. John the Evangelist. The originall thereof was (as the people say there) in the tyme of K. Edw. the confessor; and it is affirmed there that the pilgrims that brought the ringe from beyond the sea as a token from St. John to K. Edward, were inhabitants of Ludlowe.—*Leland's Itin.* t. iv, p. 91.

Remarkable was the fondness of our Catholic forefathers, when they wished to carry out a work that might yield reverence to God, stir up devotion towards His saints, or shed lustre around the public offices of religion, of gathering themselves together into one body, that Christ might be amidst them. Hence, if a pious few felt one common desire to set up a particular light in any church, or get sung there every evening a hymn in praise and honour of our blessed Lady, a gild was immediately thought of for that purpose.[97] Very often indeed it hap-

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This fraternity hath a guardian chosen yearly amonge the burgesses, and to this colledge belonge nowe a tenne priests, partly found by endowment of landes, partly by gatheringe the devotion of the people thereabout. And these priests have a fayre house at the west end of the paroch church yard, and by it is an hospitall or alms-house of a 30 poore folkes for the most part, and some times, maintained partly by the fraternity, and partly by mony given for obiits of men buried there in the church.

There was a very rich merchant in Ludlowe not longe since called Hosier, buried in the paroch church, whoe founded a cantuarye in a part of the aforesayd colledge endowinge it with 10 or 12*l.* land by the year.—*Ib.* p. 92.

There is a guild or society at this church of St. Mary in the market-stead (at Lichfield). This was begunne in K. E. 3 tyme. There be 5 preists belonginge to this brotherhood, and they serve in St. Marye's church.—*Ibid.* p. 112.

[97] Gode bretheren and susteren: it is forto weten and knowen, that the bygynnynge of this bretherhode of grete

pened from out of these small brotherhoods so begun, there sprang up in our busy trading towns

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deuocio'n, eu'y ma' paynge a peny, forto fynde xiij taperes about the sepulcre of c'ste (Christ) at Estre, in the chirche of seynt Botulphe withoute Alderesgate, in Loundon. Aft' that throug'e more gretter deuocio'n, and sterynge unto the worschippe of God, it' was yturne in' to a frat'nyte of the *Holy Trynyte*, nougt with stondynge the fyndynge eu'y yere, the may' tenynge of the forsayde xiij taper's, of the whiche breth'hode thes' were thei, etc. (*Hone's Anc. Mysteries*, p. 79). Concerning these lights "there ben ordeyned xiij tapers of wex, and eu'y taper of sex pounde of wex, with dysches of pewtere, accordynge th'to, forto brenne about the sepulcr' on estres eue' and estres day, al so longe as the mane' es in holy chirche.—*Ib.* 82.

In the church of St. Magnus, London-bridge, there was a famous gild of our lady "de Salve Regina", established there 17th Edward III. "Be it remembered, that Rauf Capelyn du Bailiff; Will. Double, fishmonger; Roger Lowher, chancellor; Henry Boseworth, vintener; Steven Lucas, stockfishmonger, and other of the better of the parish of St. Magnus, near the bridge of London, of their great devotion, and to the honour of God and his glorious Mother our Lady Mary the Virgin, began and caused to be made a chauntry, to sing an anthem of our Lady, called "Salve Regina", every evening. And thereupon ordained five burning wax lights at the time of the said anthem, in the honour and reverence of the five principal joys of our Lady aforesaid, and for exciting the people to devotion at such an hour the more to merit to their souls. And thereupon many other good people of the same parish, seeing the great honesty of the said service and devotion, prof-

the larger gilds, which at last grew so wealthy, as to own a well-built hall, to keep their own thirteen beadsmen, or their school,[98] to become possessed of broad lands and estates, and to have their own chantry chapel served by one or more gild-priests, whose duty it was to pray therein daily for the living and the dead.

Their Christian belief being the quickener, the very soul of our countrymen's actions during those

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fered to be aiders and partners to support the said lights, and the said anthem to be continually sung, paying to every person every week a half-penny. And so that hereafter, with the gifts that the people shall give to the sustentation of the said light and anthem, there shall be to find a chaplain singing in the said church for all the benefactors of the said light and anthem."—*Stow's Survey of London*, b. ii, p. 175.

[98] In his *Itinerary*, Leland gives "a remembraunce out of a litle boke of the Antiquities of the Howse of Calendaries in Brightstow," from which we learn that "The Calendaries, otharwyse cawlyd the gilde or Fraternite of the clergie and comonaltye of Brightstow, and it was firste kepte in the churche of the Trinitie, sens at Al Halows.

"The originall of this fraternitie is out of mynd.

"In the tyme of Kynge Henry the 2, Robert Erle of Glocestar and Robert Hardinge translatyd the fraternitie of the Calendaries from Trinitie onto the churche of Al Hallows.

"At this tyme were scholes ordeyned in Brightstow by them for the conversion of the Jewes, and put in the order of the Calenderis and the Maior."—t. vii, pp. 87, 88.

ages when they were Catholic, these same motives acted in the framing of those associations which merchants and workmen made among themselves, for the good of their particular branch of commerce, or their own trade;[99] and it is a fact worthy

[99] Midway between the purely devotional and the civic gilds, there stood some few which partook in a manner of the character of both: such were the Parish-clerks', the Bell-ringers', and the Minstrels' gild. Receiving into their brotherhood organists, choir-masters, singing men, and sextons, the Clerks' gild was necessarily made up, in a large part, of lay folks and married persons, who got their bread by their professional services in the churches, without having any kind of orders. The Bell-ringers stood in the same position; so too did the minstrels, who played a great deal at church, in processions, and at sacred plays; and therefore we are not surprised by finding it laid down in the statutes of the Beverley gild of minstrels, that "there science and art musicall is to be only exercised to the honour of God, and the comforthe of man" (*Poulson's Beverlac.* i, 302). At an early period there was a gild of bell-ringers at Westminster Abbey: King Henry III gave one hundred shillings, by payment each half year, to the brethren of this gild, and their successors, who were assigned to ring the great bells there (*Stow's London*, edited by Strype, t. ii, book vi, p. 8). In most of our large towns there was a clerks' gild; that at London must have been wealthy, if we may judge from the magnificence of their procession on Corpus Christi day, which festival seems to have been their gild holiday: The vj day of May (A.D. 1554) was a goodly evynsong at Yeldhall colege, by the masters of the clarkes and ther felowshype of clarkes with

of remembrance, that all their statutes show how earnestly and unweariedly

THE CIVIC GILDS IN OLD TIMES PRAYED FOR THE DEAD.

Like such as were purely of a devotional and religious character, these secular brotherhoods always put themselves under the patronage of a saint, whom they chose, in most instances, on account of some historical or symbolic connexion with their craft, or as they called it "mystery": St. Peter, who once had been a fisherman, was the London gild of fishmongers', St. Dunstan, the goldsmiths' patron saint. The image of their heaven-dwelling guardian,

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syngyng and playng .... The morrow after was a great Mass at the same place, by the same fraternity, when every clerk offered a halfpenny. The Mass was sung by divers of the queen's chapel and children; and after Mass done, every clerk went their procession two and two together, each having a surples and a rich cope, and a garland; after them iiij^{xx} standards, stremars, and baners; and evere on that bare them had a nobe (an alb) or elles a surples; and ij and ij together; then came the waytes playng, and then be-twyn xxx clarkes a qwre syngyng *Salve festa dyes;* so ther wher iiij qweres. Then cam a canepe borne by iiij of the masters of the clarks over the sacrament, with a xij stayff-torchys bornyng up sant Laurans lane, and so to the farther end of Chep, then back a-gayn up Cornhylle .... unto sant Albrowsse chyrche; and ther they dyd put off ther copes and so to dener every man.—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 62.

wrought sometimes of silver and sparkling with jewels, was canopied beneath a rich tabernacle and set up in the highest and most honourable place within their hall, and his life was storied in the tapestry, hung up on great days, on its walls.[1] His festival was the gild's holyday, whereon, clad in their new liveries,[2] the warden having on his gown

[1] That St. Dunstan should have been chosen by English goldsmiths as the patron of their craft and mystery, was but fitting, since from the writer of our great archbishop's life, we learn that: Manu aptus erat ad omnia: picturas facere; litteras formare; scalpello imprimere; ex auro argentoque, ere et ferro quicquid liberet operari (*Capgrave, Legenda Anglie*, fol. lxxxix). Imp. à *Wynkyn de Worde*, 1516; or, as the English *Legendes of the Sayntes* hath it: Then used he (St. Dunston) to werke in goldsmythes werke with his owne hondes (fol. cxxxii). Aloft in the reredos of their hall, the goldsmiths of London had a figure, silver gilt and set with gems, of their patron St. Dunstan; the walls of the same hall were hung with arras of the saint's "story", the drawings for which were made in London and sent to Flanders to be wrought (*Herbert's Livery Companies of London*, t. ii, pp. 212, 226); their loving cup, "with Saynt Dunston on the toppe," was equally rich; they kept their "St. Dunston's light" burning in St. John Zachary's church; and they had their chapel of Seynt Dunston at Paul's, where within its niche or tabernacle stood the "ymage" of the saint, with its "riddel" or curtain of "blew buckram" drooping about it (*ibid.* p. 212). Forgetful of their own land and its holy men of old, some of our goldsmiths—Catholics, I am sorry to say—now go to France, and borrow a St. Eligius for their patron.

of crimson velvet,[3] and his brother officials, as well as himself, holding white or green wands in their

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[2] The xiii day of May (A.D. 1554) was the Fyssmongers and sant Peters in Cornhyll prossessyon, with a goodly qwyre of clarkes syngyng, and a iiij^{xx} of prestes wayryng copes of cloth of gold, and so folohyng my lord mayre and the althemen in skarlet; and then the compeny of Fyssmongers in ther leveray, and they and the offesers beyryng whyt rods in ther handes, and so to Powlles, and ther they dyd the oblassyon after old fassyon (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 62). In the year 1557, there was made by the same gild a still more magnificent procession, with "the Mass kept at saint Peter's, in Cornhill; three crosses borne and a c prestes in copes; and clerks syngyng *Salve festa dies;* and then cam the parish with whyt rodes, and then the craft of Fysmongers; and after my lord mayre and the althermen, and alle the offesers with whyt rodes in ther handes; and so to Polles and ther offered at the he (high) auter, and after to dener to the Fysmongers hall to dener."

The sam day be-gane a stage play at the Grey freers of the passyon of Cryst.—*Ibid.* p. 138.

The rods or wands borne by the dignitaries of these city gilds, were not always white, but sometimes green: at the burial of "T. Lune grocer in sant Mare Mawdlyn, in Mylke-strett", there were "mony morners in blake and dyver althermen with gren stayffes; and the masturs of the hospetalle with gren stayffes."—*Ibid.* p. 110, 106.

[3] The wardens' gowns were of velvet: on Seynt Dunston's eve allways hytherto the aldermen of thys fellyshippe hathe been used to assemble in theyr vyellett gownes and clookys: and all the hoole companye of the lyvery to assemble at the Goldesmyths hall, in theyr second lyverey;

hands, all the fellowship walked in solemn procession: minstrels playing music went before; hindermost came a long line of clerks in surplices, and the chaplains of the gild arrayed in splendid copes, and chanting the joyful *Salve festa dies*. In this order they reached their patron saint's church: here the holy Sacrifice was offered up with all due solemnity. When Mass had been sung, they returned in like manner to their hall, where but a few days before the newly-chosen warden for the year had been elected and elevated to his distinguished trust, by having set upon his head a garland of flowers, or a velvet wreath, enriched with plates of gold and silver.[4] Here they dined, and

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and to have iiij chapeleyns, to wayte and goe before theym to Pawll's (*Herbert's Livery Companies of London*, ii, 213). In the Ironmongers' gild, the chaplain's gown and hood were of puke colour:

1541. Paid for v yardes of puke for our chapelyn's gown and hood at viii *s.* vi *d.* the yard, xlvj *s.* ix *d.*

The livery of the brethren was crimson and puke, and the mere hood cost vii *s.* ij *d.*—*Ibid.* p. 587.

[4] At the end of their year of office the out-going wardens of the London civic gilds went "with garlands on their hedes" to the hall belonging to the brotherhood, where an election was made of the new wardens, "upon whom the forseid garlandes shullen be so sett" (*Herbert's Livery Companies of London*, i, p. 84). In the accounts kept by the Grocers' gild, a sum of 20*d.* is put down, A.D. 1401, for "the ij chapellettes pour couroner les novels mestres" (*ibid.* p. 85). Later, instead of flowers being used for these

the gild's loving-cup, garnished with the figure of their patron saint, was handed round.[5] But the end of their yearly celebrations was a solemn dirge and Mass of *Requiem* for the dead. In some of these civic fellowships, on arising from the dinner-table itself, our citizens, with their wives and daughters, all formed into procession again and walked back to church, whither their almsmen, by their beadle's bidding, had taken their own richest hearse-cloth and spread it over the hearse, which had been put up for the occasion, and stood with a number of funeral yellow lights about it[6]

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garlands, they came to be, and, in some of the London companies, perhaps still are, like the heraldic wreath, except that they are made of red velvet, and have pieces of silver fastened on them engraved with the company's arms (*ibid.* p. 195): a sort of a cap fronted with what appeared to be a silver plate, is now employed on the occasion by the Fishmongers.—*Ibid.* t. ii, p. 44.

[5] For the old custom of the loving cup, see *note* 9, p. 338, where the fine mazer-bowl now at York cathedral, but once belonging to a gild in that city, is mentioned, p. 341: the goldsmiths' fine loving cup, bearing the figure of that gild's patron, St. Dunstan, was just now spoken of in *note* i, p. 446.

[6] Every gild in the kingdom had one or more funeral palls, or, as they were called, "herse-cloths"; some of them very rich, as may be seen from the two which still exist in London, the first belonging to the Fishmongers' company, the other to the Sadlers': both are beautiful, that of the Fishmongers particularly so, being of the finest cloth of

high up in the nave: *Placebo*, or even-song for the dead, was then chanted. In other gilds, this pious, though sorrowful, work of kindness was left to be done a few days after the feasting; but always on the morrow of the day, whenever it was, that they came to church for the *Placebo*, a Mass of *Requiem* followed, at which their chaplain from the pulpit read out each name upon their gild bead-roll, asking their prayers for all, but beseeching them to pray more especially in behalf of the dead brethren and sisters, as well as such who had ever been benefactors of their gild.[7] In olden, as in

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gold elaborately embroidered. "On Seynt Dunston's day after dyner the hoole lyverey (of Goldsmiths) must goo unto the generall obyte and dyrge for all the brethern and systern of thys companye wythe the chapeleyns before theym: and the beadell to see that the best hersse-clothe and waxe be provyded and made ready by the almesmen," etc.—*Herbert's Livery Companies of London*, ii, p. 215.

[7] By the statutes of the Fishmongers' gild, London, it was ordained that "on the Sunday next after the aforesaid festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, afore mete tyme they (the members) shall been all present in the same chirche (of St. Peter's, Cornhill), in their lyverie aforesaid, ther to here a solempne masse of *requiem* for all the soules of the same fraternite and for all Christen soules, and atte whiche Masse the preest of the same fraternite openly in the pulpit shall reherce and recomende to all good prayers by name all brethern and sistern quyke and deed of the foreseid fraternite and all cristen; and in this same Sonday shall all this fraternite have and hold a fest or a semble, as

modern days, the city companies feasted their members; while, however, they occasionally, and without blame, thus thought about the pleasures of the living, they did not, as long as they were Catholic, forget the ghostly wants of the departed brethren, but took care to gladden their souls whilst in purgatory by the help which they daily sent them through the holy Sacrifice and other offices of religion. For such a praiseworthy end, each of the London civic gilds kept, if not several, at least one priest, whose duty it was to offer up Mass every morning, and to say two additional collects, one for the living, the other for the deceased members' good. Other services were often performed exclusively for the dead by this same chaplain;[8] and in bestowing the alms of the society

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the wardeynes for the tyme beying willen ordeyne, and that every persone atte that same tyme shall paie for her leyvere als it comyth to and here quarterage also if he owe ony atte that tyme, and for the fest also." (Quoted in Herbert's *Hist. of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, t. i, p. 69). Much the same regulations were followed by the Goldsmiths.—*Ibid.* t. ii, p. 215.

[8] The priest of the Fishmongers' gild, London, bound himself to "seye his masse every day but reasonable cause it lette, with a special orison *Deus qui caritatis*, or a memorye for the quyke, and on other *Deus venie largitor*, for the dede outake hie and solempne festes in whych he be spared but of his devocion: and also to say evere day feriall in the same chirch, after noon, *Placebo* and the *Dirige*, with ix lessons and the same speciall orison abovesayd, for

in the support of such among its own members as had fallen into want, the gild required that its almsmen should go twice, at least, within each week and hear Mass at the altar of its patron saint, and pray for the souls of all the departed brethren.[9] Often, too, the man who had thriven well in his trade would bequeath some of his wealth to his gild brethren for the endowment of a chantry, that

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the same deede brethern and sistern with the commendacion saying, and every monday and friday feriall a masse of *requiem* or a memorie for all the soules of the forseyde brethern and sisterne, and for all cristen souls; and every monday, wednesday, and friday vii psalms penetenciall and litanie, with prayers and orysons that longen thereto, for the lyves and the soules aforeseyde.—Printed in Herbert's *Livery Companies of London*, t. i, p. 69.

[9] Belonging to the Goldsmiths' gild, London, there were a certain number of almsmen or "Allows-men", as they were called, who had, on being admitted, to swear that they would, "without reasonable excuse to the contrary, be every Wednesday and Friday at Seint Johan Zacharie's churche by viij of the clokke, at the masse of Drew Barentyne's preste; and there to pray for the goode estate of alle the bretheren of the crafte that be alyve and for alle the soules, by name, of alle the bretheren that ben past to God, that hathe given any lands or tenements to the mayntanyng of the almes whose names foloweth and been in a bill in the said chirche." (Printed by Herbert, *Livery Companies of London*, ii, 193, *note*.) It was ordered that these almsmen come weekly to the Goldsmiths' Mass at St. John Zachary's, in their blue gowns, and to every obit in their black gowns.—*Ibid.* 209.

Mass might be said for his and all their souls as long as the world should last.[10] When a member died, all of his fellowship were bidden to come and hear the Mass and services at his burial, and pray for his soul.[11]

How the last solemn rites of the Church used to be administered, not only for gild-brethren, but for all other persons in general during old Catholic times, is a point of inquiry full of interest for the student of medieval or liturgical antiquities.

In the first place, then, from all the evidences we have upon this subject, we find that

THE ANGLO-SAXON AND THE SALISBURY RITUAL EACH ENJOINED THE SAME SACRAMENTS TO BE GIVEN TO THE DYING.

The very first moment the sick person's illness became threatening, he was told to prepare him-

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[10] In the Goldsmiths' gild-books, relative to keeping their obits, there is the copy of an agreement, made A.D. 1369, between their wardens and the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London, for maintaining a chantry in the chapel of St. Dunstan, in that cathedral, for the soul of John Hyltoft, goldsmith, of London (*Herbert's Livery Companies of London*, ii, 208). Hyltoft had bequeathed very plentiful means to his brotherhood for that especial object.

[11] In their statutes, the Grocers required, "that at the death of a member of the brotherhood in London, the warden for the year should order the beadle to warn the brothers to go to the dirge and on the morrow to the Mass, under pain of viij*s*. (*Ibid.* p. 70). The wardens of the

self and receive extreme unction,[12] and into his ear were whispered those soothing, hopeful words from holy writ, of St. James, who says: "Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him" (cap. v, 14, 15). In this holy anointing the Anglo-Saxons knew there was "a healing and a forgiveness of sin",[13] and so strongly

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Goldsmiths' gild yearly held and kept twenty-five obits, at divers parish churches, and went to the said obits, etc. —*Ibid.* ii, 206.

[12] Among the excerptions of Ecgberht, archbishop of York, A.D. 732, the twenty-first is: Ut secundum diffinitionem sanctorum patrum, si quis infirmatur, a sacerdotibus oleo sanctificato cum orationibus diligenter ungatur. (*Laws of England*, etc. ed. Thorpe, ii, 100.) So, too, Ælfric's Pastoral Letter says: The mass-priest shall rightly preach the true faith to men.... visit sick men.... and, if the sick layman desire to receive unction, let him confess him, and forgive every grudge, before the unction, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 385.) The sick person received extreme unction once only in every illness; but the holy eucharist every day till he died. See page 305 of this volume, in the note for St. Dunstan's rule.

[13] Ælfric's Pastoral Letter, 48 (*ibid.* p. 385.) In another letter of his, entitled *Quando dividis Chrisma*, the same bishop says: O ye mass-priests, my brothers.... to day (Maundy Thursday) we are to divide our oil, hallowed

did they hold by this teaching, as to believe whosoever should have received this rite with fitting dispositions, his soul, after death, became as spotless as the new-born child's who dies immediately after being washed in the cleansing waters of baptism.[14] Hence was it enacted by the canons, "that every priest should have both baptismal oil, and unction for the sick, and also be prompt for the people's rites, and diligently promote Christianity."[15]

The last anointing was given to the dying Anglo-Saxon with no small ceremonial solemnity. Arrayed in all his sacerdotal vestments, and accompanied

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in three ways, as the book points out to us,—*i.e.*, oleum sanctum, et oleum chrismatis, et oleum infirmorum,—that is, in English, holy oil, the second is chrism, and sick men's oil; and ye ought to have three flasks ready for the three oils, for we dare not put them together in one oil vessel, because each of them is hallowed apart for a particular service..... With sick men's oil ye shall anoint the sick, as James the apostle taught in his epistle,—Ut allevet, etc.,—"That the Lord may raise them from their sickness; and, if they are in sins, that they shall be forgiven them."—*Ibid.* p. 391.

[14] After noticing the words of the apostle St. James, Ep. v, 13, 14, Archbishop Ecgberht says: Ideo fidelis quisque, si possit, unctionem obtinere debet, et ritus qui ad eam pertinent: quoniam scriptum est, quod quicunque hos ritus habuerit, anima ejus æque pura erit, post obitum suum, atque infantis, qui statim post baptisma moritur.—*Pœnitentiale*, ed. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii, 179.

[15] Canons enacted under King Edgar.—*Ibid.* p. 259.

by acolytes who bore lighted tapers, an incense-breathing thurible, and holy water, the priest, who was about to administer this sacrament, walked with slow step from the church to the sick man's abode, at the threshold of which this procession halted for a moment, holy water was sprinkled on the door-posts, and the anthem sung: "Peace be to this house", etc.[16] Going in, and having reached the dying person's bed-side, the priest bent over him and asked why the minister of the Church had been sent for; and on hearing from himself that it was to have extreme unction, he told the sick man

[16] The rubrics followed by the Anglo-Saxon Church in administering the sacrament, are to be seen, to this day, in the very old Anglo-Saxon pontificals now in the public library at Rouen, under the shelf-mark 362. Dum invitati sacerdotes ad infirmum fuerint visitandi ungendique causa, qui eorum ad illud officium dignus jure censetur, induat se superhumerali, alba, et stola, cum phanone atque planeta si affuerit, sin alias, casula non induatur. Diaconus vero qui evangelii textum ferat et oleum infirmorum, et ceroferarii secundum ordinem suum se induant. Unus ceroferariorum dextra cereum, læva thuribulum cum incenso. Sic induti cum domum in qua infirmus jacet intrare voluerint, sacerdos læva codicem quo hujus officii orationes habentur, teneat, dextra se signo dominicæ crucis muniat. .... Et sic intrando istam antiphonam (dicat): "Pax huic domui," etc. Deinde vero progrediens, undique versus aquam benedictam aspergendo atque antiphonam, "Asperges me, Domine, hysopo," decantando, ad lectum ægroti... accedere satagat.

to make a full confession of all his sins.[17] This shrift being gone through, the holy anointing was administered by the priest, who dipped the thumb of his right hand into the hallowed oil and made with it the sign of the cross upon the eyes, the ears, the nostrils, the mouth, the hands, and other parts of the dying man's body; and the words that the priest uttered, at each several time, besought of God to forgive those sins committed by that sense the organ of which he was then touching with the oil.[18] Just before breathing his last, the Anglo-Saxon received the housel or blessed Eucharist,[19] which was always kept in the church ready for that purpose under the very same name we still

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[17] Tunc sacerdos flexis genibus ante ægrotum inclinet, dicens ei, "Ut quid nos vocasti, frater?" Infirmus dicat: "Ut unctionem mihi tradere dignemini." Sacerdos tunc dicens ei: "Prius te ad puram prepara confessionem, de cetero sanctam accipies unctionem," etc. Tunc ejus accipiat confessionem. Et si cunctis voluerit dimittere, sanctam ei humiliter tradat unctionem. Quod si noluerit, sacrato eum chrismate omnino non tangat.

[18] Perungat infirmum de oleo sancto sanctificato cruces faciendo. Oratio ad oculos ungendos in supercilis oculorum: "Ungo oculos tuos de oleo sanctificato, ut quidquid inlicito visu deliquisti, huius olei unctione expietur. Per Dominum nostrum." "Succurre, Domine, infirmo huic," etc. Psal.: "Beati quorum," etc. Then follow all the other anointings: Ad aures; ad nares; ad labia, etc.—*Martene, De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* i, 301, 302.

[19] See page 301 of this volume, in the note.

give it—viaticum[20]—to strengthen him on the road from this to another world.[21]

With some slight variations in the wording and the rubrics of the service, as few as they were unimportant, these very same ordinances continued to be still followed in England from the Norman William's earliest to the Tudor Mary's latest days. By the Sarum rite, laid down in its Manual or Book, with the form of administering the sacraments, the priest, vested in a surplice, with a stole about his neck, carried the hallowed oil[22] and the holy housel

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[20] Concerning the holy housel, or blessed eucharist, kept as the "viaticum" in Anglo-Saxon churches, the reader may see what we have written upon that point, t. i, p. 130, of this work.

[21] Acri cœpit (S. Æthelwoldus) infirmitate gravari, et sacrati olei liquore perunctus, Dominici Corporis et Sanguinis perceptione exitum suum munivit. (*Vita S. Æthelwoldi, Ep. Winton.* auctore—ut videtur—*Wolstano*, eius discipulo; *AA. SS. O. B.* ed. Mabillon, t. vii, p. 610.) The liturgical reader should observe that, in the Anglo-Saxon ritual, extreme unction was always administered before the eucharist; according to the Sarum Manual, oftener, but not invariably so.

[22] The following is the solemn manner in which the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London, went and anointed a dying brother canon: Si vero invalescente egritudine, extrema sit injungendus unccione, decanus cum canonicis presentibus, si infirmo placuerit, aqua benedicta, cruce, cereis, et tintinnabulo precedentibus, tempore opportuno ibunt ad infirmum, et decanus ipse, vel alius fratrum quem

to the dying man: this English, like the Anglo-Saxon priest, stopped at the door to sprinkle it with holy water, saying, "Peace be to this house", etc.[23] He, too, first of all heard the sick man's confession of all his sins,[24] and after absolution and the kiss of peace,[25] gave him extreme unction,[26] ac-

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elegerit infirmus, extreme unccionis officium exequatur, etc.—Ex *Registro Consuet. S. Pauli, Londin.* cap. *De Canonicis Infirmis*, t. iii of this work, part iii, p. 120.

[23] Ordo ad visitandum infirmum. Imprimis induat se sacerdos in superpellicio cum stola; et in eundo dicat cum suis ministris septem psalmos penitentiales. (*Manuale ad Usum Sarum*, Rothomagi impressum in officina magistri Martini Morin, fol. lxxxi.) Et cum intraverit domum, dicat, "Pax huic domui," etc. (*Ibid.* fol. lxxxiij b.) Quando infirmus debet inungi, afferenda est ei ymago crucifixi, et ante conspectum eius statuenda ut Redemptorem suum in ymagine crucifixi adoret, et passionis eius quam pro peccatorum salute sustinuit recordetur. Deinde aspergat infirmum aqua benedicta.—*Ibid.* fol. lxxxiiij.

[24] Deinde audita integra confessione infirmi, et factis interrogationibus expedientibus inungat sacerdos infirmo quod si quid injuste alieni habuerit, vel si quem injuste leserit seu damnificaverit, reddat et satisfaciat si valeat, sin autem veniam humiliter postulet, etc.—*Ibid.* fol. lxxxvij.

[25] Fiat eius absolutio, etc., deinde osculetur crucem infirmus et sacerdotem et postea omnes alios per ordinem, etc. —*Ibid.* fol. lxxxviij.

[26] Accipiat interim sacerdos oleum infirmorum super pollicem dextrum et sic cum illo pollice tangat infirmum cum oleo signum crucis faciens super utrumque oculum incipiendo ad dextrum oculum, et dicat sacerdos hoc modo:

cording to the olden Anglo-Saxon rubric, and with like prayers, then the blessed Eucharist,[27] so that, as

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"Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per visum." R. "Amen." Sequatur psalmus, "Exaltabo te, Domine." etc. Deinde super aures, etc.; deinde super labia, etc.—*Ibid.* fol. xc.

[27] Facta unctione ut predictum est expediens erit, ut sacerdos ante communionem inquirat ab infirmo an aliqua alia peccata sibi ad memoriam occurrant de quibus non erat confessus, etc. Deinde communicetur infirmus, etc. (*Ibid.* fol. xcii.) When a priest received the viaticum, he had a stole put about his neck: Nota quando sacerdos infirmus communicandus, stola induetur.—*Manuale ad Usum Sarum*, MS. in my possession.

In the earliest Protestant liturgy of England,—the first book of Edward VI,—extreme unction was set forth thus; "If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the priest anoint him upon the forehead, or breast only, making the sign of the cross," etc.; and in the prayer, the minister said: "We.... beseech the eternal Majesty.... to pardon thee all thy sins and offences committed by all thy bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections," etc. (*The Two Books of Common Prayer of King Edward VI*, p. 366, ed. Cardwell.) A reservation of the sacrament, to be carried from the church to the sick man's house, is also directed by its rubrics: "If, the same day, there be a celebration of the holy communion in the church, then shall the priest reserve (at the open communion) so much of the sacrament of the body and blood as shall serve the sick person," etc. (*Ibid. Communion of the Sick*, p. 368); "and if there be more sick persons to be visited the same day

of yore, the soul might wing its flight for its doom before God, shrifted, assoiled, aneled, and houseled.

If to the bed-side of the lowliest hind, the adorable Eucharist was borne with much liturgical solemnity in the Anglo-Saxon, not less so used it to be according to our old English Sarum ritual. From beneath its silken canopy, hanging down before the high altar, with a lamp kept burning everlastingly beside it, the parish priest took out and carried to the sick the viaticum enclosed in a pix, which was always lined with the finest and the whitest linen,[28] whether that cup itself were wrought

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that the curate doth celebrate in any sick man's house, then shall the curate (there) reserve so much of the sacrament of the body and blood as shall serve the other sick persons.... and shall immediately carry it, and minister it unto them." (*Ibid.* p. 370.) Both extreme unction and the reservation of the eucharist were left out of Edward's second book.

[28] Cum eucharistia ad ægrum fuerit deferenda, habeat sacerdos pixidem mundam ut honestam, ita scilicet quod una semper in ecclesia remaneat, et in alia in qua sit eucharistia in bursa posita mundissima, in qua deferat corpus Dominicum ad ægrotum linteo mundo superposito et lucerna præcedente nisi æger valde remotus fuerit, et cruce similiter si fieri potest, nisi crux fuerit ad alium ægrotum deportata. Præcedente quoque tintinnabulo, ad cujus sonitum concitetur devotio fidelium. Habeatque secum semper sacerdos horarium seu stolam, quando cum eucharistia, sicut diximus, vadit ad ægrotum. Et si æger non remotus fuerit, in superpellicio decenter ad eum vadat, habeatque

out of gold, or of silver, of ivory, or of copper inside gilt outside ornamented with enamel.[29] In our larger towns and more wealthy rural districts, a crowd of young surpliced clerks formed, on these occasions, a procession fair to behold: one, going first, bore a cross[30] uplifted on a staff; then came another, sounding a little silver hand-bell,[31] and all

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vas argenteum sive stanneum, ad hoc specialiter deputatum quod semper ad ægrotum deferat; ut in eo ægro dare valeat post sumptam eucharistiam suorum loturam digitorum. (*Constit. Provinciales S. Edmundi Cantuariensis Archiep.* A.D. 1236, Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 638.) There is a better reading of this constitution, which says: Habeat sacerdos aliam pixidem mundam et honestam in qua sit linea bursa munda et in ea Dominicum corpus deferat ad ægrotum, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 657.) Archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1280, says of the viaticum: Collocetur in pixide pulcherrima intrinsecus lino candidissimo adornata, etc.—*Ibid.* t. ii, p. 48.

[29] Duæ pixides (in qualibet ecclesia haberi debent), una argentea vel eburnea, vel de opere lemonitico, vel alia idonea, in qua hostiæ reserventur.... alia decens et honesta in qua oblatæ reponantur. (*Constit. W. de Bleys, Ep. Wigorn.* A.D. 1229; Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 623; et *Concil. Exonien., ibid.* ii, 139.) Eucharistia in munda pixide argentea, aut eburnea, aut alia tanto sacramento digna et idonea conservetur.—*Concil. Oxoniense*, 1222; Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 594.

[30] For the use of a processional cross in visiting the sick, see note 28, p. 461.

[31] Persona (ecclesiæ) provideat de.... lanterno et tintinnabulo deferendo ante sacerdotem in visitatione infir-

the rest with lighted torches in their hands,[32] walked either immediately before or about the priest; behind him followed a long array of lay-folks,[33] men and women, telling their beads, or mingling their voices with the deep-toned murmur of the clergy as they said the psalms. In poorer places, one acolyte at the least went first, holding a lighted

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morum legitime præcedente; et personæ vel vicarii debent invenire duos cereos processionales. (*Constitutiones Ægidii de Bridport, Ep. Sarum*, A.D. 1265; Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 714.) Habeatur in singulis ecclesiis .... campanella deferenda ad infirmos et ad elevationem corporis Christi, etc. (*Concil. Exonien.* A.D. 1287, *ibid.* ii, 139.) Among the jewels "that longith unto oure Lady chirche" at Sandwich, A.D. 1483, there occurs,—"a bell of sylver, to be boryn with the sacrament, of ix ounces, i quarter."—*Boys's Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 374.

[32] Jeffery de Drayton, of Great Yarmouth, bequeathed, c. A.D. 1374: To the support of the light of Corpus Christi, to be carried to the town for visiting the sick, vis. viii*d.*—*Swinden's Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 807.

[33] To those who followed the priest as he carried the blessed eucharist to the dying, our bishops were in the habit of granting a ten days' indulgence: Volumus insuper et præcipimus quod sacerdotes ipsi parochianos suos moneant diligenter ut ad implendum Salvatori suo reverentiam, audito prædicto tintinnabulo, Corpus ipsum ad domum infirmi sequantur, et inde usque ad ecclesiam conducant. Hiis autem qui cum devotione hoc fecerint, singulis, viz., ad instar prædecessorum nostrorum, decem dies indulgentiæ misericorditer relaxamus.—*Constit. Synod. H. Woodloke, Ep. Winton*; Wilkins, *Concil.* ii, 294.

lantern and ringing a little bell, that at its tinklings all might know that Christ in the sacrament was going by, and therefore fall down upon their knees and worship him.[34] In those wild parts of the

[34] Cum autem ad infirmum eucharistia deportatur, ita decenter se habeant portatores, superpelliciis saltem induti, cum campanella, lumine præcedente, nisi vel aëris intemperies obstet, vel loci remotio; ut per hoc devotio fidelium augeatur, qui Salvatorem suum tenentur in via luto non obstante, flexis genibus adorare, ad quod sunt per sacerdotes suos attentius commonendi. Si autem loci remotio, vel aëris intemperies obstiterit sacerdoti, præcipimus ut circa collum suum in theca honesta pixidem deferat in qua reponitur eucharistia, etc. (*Constit. W. de Cantilupo, Ep. Wigorn.* A.D. 1240; Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 667.) John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1280, was not less solicitous about the due reverence to be shown to the adorable eucharist, both in the manner of keeping it in church, and of carrying it to the sick; for in one of his provincial statutes he says: Dignissimum eucharistiæ sacramentum præcipimus de cætero taliter custodiri ut videlicet in bursa vel loculo propter comminutionis periculum nullatenus collocetur, sed in pixide pulcherrima intrinsecus lino candidissimo adornata, in qua ipsum corpus Domini repositum in aliquo cooperticulo de serico, purpura, vel lino purissimo operiri præcipimus ita quod sine omni comminutionis periculo possit inde faciliter extrahi et apponi.... Circumferatur autem cum debita reverentia ad ægrotos, sacerdote saltem induto superpellicio et gerente orarium cum lumine prævio in lucerna et tintinnabulo sonoro, ut populus ad reverentiam debitam excitetur, qui ad prosternandum se vel orandum saltem humiliter sacerdotali informetur pru-

country where the cottages stood afar, and to reach them a rugged road had to be trodden, the priest, sometimes unaccompanied by even one clerk, had to ride while visiting the furthermost districts of his parish. On such occasions he bore the pix within a silk bag hung upon his breast;[35] and, if not carried slung round his own left arm, he tied the lantern, with a burning taper in it, along with the bell, about his horse's neck, and thus, with as much ritual respect as might be, did the good man slowly climb the rough hill's side, or wade through the winter-swollen brook.[36]

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dentiæ, ubicunque regem gloriæ sub panis latibulo evenerit deportari, etc. (*Statuta quædam Johannis Peckham, Cant. Archiep.* Wilkins, *Concil.* ii, 48.) In one of his Synodal Constitutions, Bp. Woodloke (of Winchester), A.D. 1308, says of this bell: Ut ejus sonitu ad attrahendum et adorandum fideles quilibet moneantur, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 294.

[35] Walter de Cantilupo's Constitution, in last note.

[36] Si tamen contigerit casus necessitatis, sic quod presbyter nullum ministrum habere posset paratum ad deferendum lumen, puto quod non esset inconveniens ut presbyter lucernam cum lumine ad unum de suis brachiis suspensam gestaret, et campanam, modo quo posset meliori, pulsaret. Sic enim faciunt presbyteri in amplis parochiis quando transeunt ad infirmos in locis remotis existentes; qui quandoque equitantes lucernam cum campana applicant collo equi, et in hoc non sunt reprehendendi.—*Lyndwood, Provinciale*, p. 249, note *x*.

In the Ashmolean museum, Oxford, there is a very curious lantern wrought of copper, studded with knobs of

To soothe them in their death-pangs, religion came again to our forefathers' bed-side, and brought along with her the same ghostly aids which she used to bestow ages before upon the Anglo-Saxon: the image of our Saviour was held up to their eyes, that their latest thoughts might dwell upon Jesus, who so loved us as to buy our redemption by dying for us a most ignominious death upon a cross;[37] and all those names that had been dear to them through life, now, for the last time here below, fell sweetly upon their ears from the lips of kinsfolks and clergy, kneeling beside them, saying the litanies and calling upon St. Alban, St. Edmund, St. Swithin, St. Æthelwold, St. Dunstan, St. Cuthberht, St. Edith, together with all the other blessed souls of the saints now in heaven, to pray for them.[38] Indeed, with the exception of the bed of ashes strewed upon the floor,[39] the Salisbury prescribed

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rock crystal, and seemingly made at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. It may have been for liturgical purposes, either to hang up before or carry about along with the Blessed Sacrament. So few are the pieces of crystal about it, and through these only its light could be let stream forth, as to show that this lantern was meant rather to keep the burning taper which it held, from being blown out by the wind, than to illuminate the spot at which it might be suspended.

[37] See note 23, p. 459.

[38] These saints were especially enumerated in the *Sarum Manual*, fol. xcv.

everything which the Anglo-Saxon rubric enjoined to be done at the hour of death.

But when the soul had sped away, the Church thought of the lifeless body for the flown spirit's sake, and with a becoming reverence for those hallowing ordinances—the Sacraments—which had been so often administered to it, from childhood to old age, carried the now breathless corpse to the grave and buried it with pious and impressive, though saddening solemnity.

Yet these rites, as doleful as they were, had gleaming over them all a streak of light of their own, that smiled softly away the gloom and darkness of the sepulchre, and dried up the tears let fall by weeping brethren. Throughout her burial

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[39] Though not enjoined by our rubrics, to die lying upon a cross of ashes on the floor was a devotional practice observed in many places: Henry the Second's eldest son, to express his sorrow for having so often withstood his father, caused himself to be stretched out on the floor upon a bed of ashes, upon which he died: Deinde depositis mollioribus indumentis, cilicium induit, et ligato fune in collo suo, dixit episcopis et cæteris viris religiosis circumstantibus: Trado me peccatorem indignum, culpabilem, et obnoxium, per funem istum vobis ministris Dei postulans ut Dominus noster Jesus Christus . . . misereatur infœlicissimæ animæ meæ. Et responderunt omnes, Amen. Et ipse ait illis trahite me a lecto isto per hunc funem et imponite lecto illi cinereo quem sibi præparaverat, et fecerunt sicut ille præcepit illis, etc.—*Rogeri Hoveden, Annal.* ed. Savile, fol. 354.

service, with its collects, its anthems, and its ceremonies, our holy Faith bade, as she still bids, charity—that undying everlasting virtue—to watch as it were by the grave, and, like a mercy-angel, cry aloud on all Christians, but on friends and kinsfolks in particular, to go, and with their prayers, their fastings, their alms-deeds, and good works of every kind, try and lighten the sorrows and shorten the time of cleansing to be borne, in the middle state, by the soul of him or of her whose earthly remains lay mouldering below.[40] In truth,

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[40] Missa, preces, dona, ieiunia, quatuor ista
Absolvant animas quas purgans detinet ignis.

—*Becon's Reliques of Rome*, fol. 201, A.D. 1563. Notwithstanding this writer's gall against the Catholic Church, and the sneering way in which he speaks of its divine belief, several old English ritual usages may be gleaned out of his book; and at the very time he is trying to scoff at them, he unwittingly lets us know how beautifully symbolic, how holy, how well-grounded on God's written word, were these liturgical practices: such is his notice of the "Spedy deliverance of soules out of Purgatorye."

First on the sonday, cause a masse to be song or said in the worship of the Trinity. Set also iii candles burning before the sacrament al the masse tyme. Fede also three poore men, or geve three almesses to the nedye.

Secondly on the monday, cause a masse to be song or sayde in the worship of all Aungels. Light also ix candles in the honoure of the ix orders of Aungells. Fede ix pore men, or geve ix almosses.

Thirdly on the Twesday cause a masse to be song or

THE FUNERAL SERVICE ACCORDING TO OUR OLD ENGLISH RITUAL,

speaks in unmistakable words, and tells us that those who drew it up, and those who used it, believed with steadfastness in what God's Catholic Church has ever taught of purgatory.

As in the Anglo-Saxon,[41] so in the Salisbury ritual, the body, immediately after death, was washed; and, unless the individual had been in holy orders, or dedicated to God in a monastic life, or of high rank in the world, it was wrapped within a plain white linen winding sheet.[42] Laid

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sayde in the honour of Saint Spirite: and lighten vii candles in the worship of the vii giftes which he geveth. Fede also vii poore men or geve vii almosses.

Fourthly, on the Wednisday cause a masse to be song or said in the worship of S. Jhon Baptiste and of all the patriarches. Light foure candles, and feede foure poore men, or geve foure almosses.

Fiftlye, on the Thursdaye cause a Masse to be song or sayde of S. Peter and of the xii Apostles. Lighten xii candles, and fede xii poore men, or geve xii almosses.

Sixtly, on the Fryday cause a masse to be song or sayd in the worship of S. Crosse. Lighten v candles. Fede v poore men, or geve v almosses.

Seventhly and finally, on the Saterday cause a masse to be song or sayde in the honour of our lady and al virgines. Ligten v candles. Fede v poore men or geve v almosses. Jesu mercy. Lady helpe.—*Ibid.* f. 206.

[41] See p. 302 of this volume.

upon a bier,[43] it was carried to the church: a boy with the holy water, and a cross-bearer, walking before two acolytes, with lighted tapers in their candlesticks, headed the mournful procession;[44]

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[42] Lavetur (corpus) aqua tepida, vel calida, si placeat: et postea linteamine mundo honeste involvatur, et in feretro locetur, clericis interim dicentibus vesperas de die, et de Sancta Maria, et postea vigilias mortuorum (*Manuale ad Usum Sarum*, impress. a Morin, fol. xcix). By the York ritual, it is directed that a priest's body should be washed by a priest: Postea lavetur sacerdos a sacerdote. Post induatur ut ordo exigitur et dicatur hec oracio: "Suscipe Domine animam servi tui," etc.—*Manuale Eboracense MS.*

[43] One among the things which every parish church in this country ought to have, was a funeral bier—feretrum mortuorum.—*Concil. Exonien.* Wilkins, *Concil.* ii, 139.

[44] Si vero fuerit corpus mortuum cum processione sepeliendum, tunc eodem modo ordinetur processio sicut in simplicibus Dominicis, præterquam quod in hac processione, sacerdos et ministri ejus in albis cum amictibus induti incedant, chorus autem in cappis nigris quotidie (*Manuale Sarum*, fol. xcix, *b*). What the order of procession was on simple Sundays, we gather from St. Osmund's *Treatise:* Sacerdos ebdomadarius cum diacono, et subdiacono textum deferente, et puero deferente thuribulum, et ceroferariis et acolito crucem ferente, omnibus albis indutis, etc.—t. iii, part iii, p. 46 of this work, as well as from the *Salisbury Processional:* Deinde pueri in superpelliciis aquam benedictam gestantes; deinde accolitus crucem ferens; et post ipsum duo ceroferarii pariter incedentes; deinde thuriferarius, etc.—*Processionale ad Usum Sarum*, fol. iiij, A.D. 1528.

then came the sexton, ringing, at intervals, a little bell he held in his hand,—thus asking all who heard its tinklings, or saw this funeral go by, to say a prayer for the dead;[45] clerks, two and two,

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[45] Provideant (parochiani) de campanellis ante funus deferendis cum perveniatur ad sepeliendum (*Constitutiones Ægidii de Bridport, Ep. Sarum*, A.D. 1256. Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 714). Habeatur in singulis ecclesiis . . . lucerna, boëta, campanellæ ad mortuos, feretrum mortuorum, etc.—*Concil. Exonien. ibid.* ii, 139.

Chaucer brings in, with much good effect, the ritual usage followed here in England, during his time, of ringing a bell before the dead body while it was carried to the grave; for in sketching the youthful wantons of the day, that poet makes a party of them to be scared at its tinklings:

> Thise riotoures three, of which I tell,
> Long erst or prime rong of any bell,
> Were set hem in a taverne for to drinke:
> And as they sat, they herd a belle clinke
> Beforn a corps, was caried to the grave.

—*The Pardoneres Tale, Works*, ed. Sir H. Nicolas, iii, 49.

Belonging to the monastery of Carthusians or Charterhouse, London, there was what went by the name of the "Pardon churchyard," wherein were buried executed felons and self-murderers, who were fetched thither usually in a close cart, vailed over and covered with black, having a plain white cross thwarting, and at the fore end a St. John's cross without, and within a bell ringing by shaking of the cart, whereby the same might be heard when it passed (*Stow's Survey of London*, t. ii, b. iv, p. 62). The vj day of October, A.D. 1554, was bered at Westmynster a grett man a Spaneard with syngyng boyth Englys and

with the parish-priest vested in alb and amice, succeeded next, singing psalms; then the corpse, surrounded by friends bearing torches and wax-lights;[46] afterwards followed the chief mourners, dressed in black cloaks and hoods.[47] Brought into church, the bier, if the deceased had been a clerk, went into the chancel; if a layman, and not of

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Spaneards with a hand-belle a-for ryngyng, and every Spaneard havyng gren torchys and gren tapurs to the nomber of a C. bornyng, and ther bered in the abbay (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. Nichols, for the Camden Society, p. 71). Ringing hand-bells in going along with the dead to church for burial, was usual among the Anglo-Saxons, as we have remarked before at note 68, p. 307.

[46] To provide lights for the burial of the poor, in some churches the Paschal candle was broken, after Trinity Sunday, and made up again into small tapers exclusively for the funeral service of the poor people: Ut post festum sanctæ Trinitatis fiant cerei minoris portionis de cereo Paschali qui tantum cedant in usus pauperum mortuorum (*Constit. W. de Bleys, Ep. Wigorn*, A.D. 1219. Wilkins, *Concil.* i, 571). In old wills, bequests were made for the same purpose under the name of "the poor light."

[47] The black cloak, the men's hat-bands, the scarves, and women's hoods, yet worn at funerals, are so many remnants of this old English custom. Every *Book of Hours*, in its illuminations at the beginning of the "Placebo," or the "Dirige," as well as our etching of the hearse, given a little further on in this volume, will let the reader see the shape of those robes in former days: the present funeral hat-band is the representative of the ancient hood, for hats had not then come into general and common wear.

high degree, the bearers set it down in the nave, hard by the rood-loft door. But whether a churchman, or not, every one's corpse, without distinction of sex, age, or state in life, was placed, for the funeral service, lying stretched out in the very same direction as they afterwards put it in the grave,—with its feet to the high-altar, to the east.[48] The beau-

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[48] Si corpus Canonici vel alterius magnatis fuerit, in chorum deferatur, sin autem alterius, extra chorum in ecclesia post orationem derelinquatur.—*Manuale Sarum*, fol. c.

Singing, in some of his sweetest rhymes, of a little Christian child martyred in Asia by the Jews, like our own boy-saint little Hugh, whom Chaucer calls "young Hew of Lincoln, slain also," that poet glances at the ritual custom of putting the body in front of the altar while Mass was said before burial:

Upon his bere ay lith this innocent
Beforn the auter while the Masse last:
And after that, the abbot with his covent
Han spedde hem for to berie him ful fast:
And whan they holy water on him cast,
Yet spake this child, whan spreint was the holy water,
And sang, "O Alma Redemptoris Mater."

—*The Prioresses Tale*, ed. Sir H. Nicolas, *Chaucer's Works*, t. iii, p. 80.

From the very earliest period in this country, bishops and kings, clergy and layfolks, men and women,—all without exception,—were buried so as to have their feet towards the east; and for a beautiful symbolic reason, which prevailed here as elsewhere throughout Christendom, up to the sixteenth century, and still almost everywhere pre-

tiful symbolism of those times taught this. A large black pall, with a wide white cross running through

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vails. Of the east, Honorius, A.D. 1130, says: In oriente est patria nostra, scilicet paradisus, unde expulsos nos dolemus. Orantes ergo contra paradisum nos vertimus . . . in oriente sol oritur per quem Christus sol justiciæ exprimitur. Ab hoc promissus habemus quod in resurrectione ut sol fulgeamus; in oratione ergo contra ortum solis vertimus nos ut solem angelorum nos adorare intelligamus, et ut ad memoriam gloriam nostræ resurrectionis revocemus, cum solem quem in occidente quasi mori conspeximus, tanta gloria resurgere in oriente videmus (*Gemma Animæ*, lib. i, cap. xcv). All the figures on our high tombs and brasses have their hands clasped as for prayer, and begging forgiveness towards their poor souls; hence Durand tells us: Debet autem quis sic sepeliri ut capite ad occidentem posito, pedes dirigat ad orientem in quo quasi ipsa positione orat; et innuit quod promptus est, ut de occasu festinet ad ortum, de mundo ad seculum (*Rationale Divin. Offic.* lib. vij, cap. xxxv, sec. 39, p. 457). As our old churches are built lying east and west, our altars throughout the country were all so put that those who looked full towards them, faced the east: our graves in the churchyards, and tombs within the church, were made to look that way.

The present Roman ritual orders that a priest shall have his head to the altar, his feet to the people, as he is put into his grave. Such a rubric is new; not only all the old cumbent ecclesiastical figures, which I have seen in the churches at Rome, are to be found with their feet, not head, turned towards the altar, like the effigies, clerical as well as secular, in this country; but Catalani, in his notes

its whole length and width, was cast over it; and at its four corners were put large wax tapers.[49] Mass, at least, was said over the dead body.[50]

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upon the *Roman Ritual*, admits that the earliest trace of the present rubric goes no higher than the sixteenth century; and he observes: Fateor equidem, in nullo antiquo Rituali, Concilioque, me invenisse statutum quod hoc præscribitur, ut nempe corpora defunctorum, laicorum scilicet, in ecclesia ponenda sint pedibus versus altare, presbyteri, vero caput versus altare habeant, etc. (*Rituale Romanum*, ed. Catalano, t. i, p. 395.) Though we English Catholics use the Roman Missal and Breviary, we employ a different "Ordo administrandi," widely varying in several ceremonies from the Roman ritual: as ours gives no rubric on the subject, we are thus still at liberty to bury our bishops and priests, as our forerunners in the true belief have always buried them in this land, throughout the British, the Anglo-Saxon, and the English periods, with their feet, not head, towards the altar.

[49] Such is often the way a funeral is to be found figured in old illuminated manuscripts: one in my possession, done by an English hand somewhere about the beginning of the fifteenth century, shows a blue pall having on it a cross *bottony* embroidered in gold; the four tapers are of yellow wax.

[50] Secundum antiquam Angliæ consuetudinem (ut ex rubricis liquido apparet) nullius defuncti corpus sepeliendum est, nisi pro anima eius prius oblato Missæ Sacrificio. Si igitur corpus defuncti post vesperas deferatur ad ecclesiam, ibi insepultum relinquendum est, usque in diem sequentem, et tunc Missa prius pro anima celebrata sepeliendum (*Manuale juxta Usum Eccl. Sarisburiensis*, inter

Before offering up the holy Sacrifice, and whilst the choir was chanting a service called the *Com-*

Annotationes, p. 278. Duaci, 1610). This is the duodecimo edition of the *Salisbury Manual*, printed with Annotations by the English Catholic divines at Douay, where they also put forth a quarto edition of it in the year 1604. Such facts not only testify the zeal of those good men to keep up the use of our old Salisbury ritual, but show that our missionary priests warmly seconded those wishes by the employment of it; for unless it were so, two editions of this kind of book had not been sent out from a foreign press in the short space of six years. Would that the same love for the old English liturgy quickened our clergy now as then.

Carrying a corpse into church before burial, had a well-defined purpose, according to the Catholic rubric, to have Mass offered up for the soul of that dead person; to take the body into church, though allowed by the optional rubric of the *Book of Common Prayer*, is, on Protestant principles, idle and unmeaning, for nothing is said or done in, that might not be said or done over the corpse as well outside the church's walls, with the same or more convenience to minister and mourners. The custom, however, is one of those traces which show the liturgical student a glimpse of the belief and ritual in the England of Catholic days. So very anxious, indeed, were our old English churchmen that no body should be buried without Mass being offered up at the funeral, that it was decreed by the council at Oxford, A.D. 1222, the only time a priest might say two masses on the same day, besides Christmas-day and Easter Sunday, was when a corpse had to be interred: Ne sacerdos quispiam Missarum solennia celebret bis in

mendation of Souls,[51] the priest, vested in his alb and stole, went into the church-yard, where he first made the sign of the cross over, then sprinkled with holy water, that particular spot wherein the dead person was to be buried; then, with a spade, he showed the length and breadth of the grave, by

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die; excepto die Nativitatis et Resurrectionis Dominicæ, vel in obsequiis defunctorum, viz. cum corpus alicujus in ecclesia eodem die tumulandum, et tunc prior missa de die, posterior vero pro defuncto celebretur (*Concil. Oxonien.* cap. vii. *Concil. Mag. Brit.* Wilkins, i, 586). Taking the Sacrament did not break his fast; and by another canon of the same synod, the sacrificing priest was forbidden to drink the ablutions of the first, if he had had to celebrate a second Mass: Presbyter autem postquam Dominicum Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserit in altari, si in eodem die Missarum solennia ipsum celebrare oporteat, iterato vinum calici infusum, vel digitis superfusum sumere non præsumat. (*ibid.*) These rinsings of the chalice and of his fingers were therefore either put into another vessel, and drunk by him at the end of the last Mass, or poured down the piscina, the drain running through which was made partly for such a purpose.

[51] This *Commendatio Animarum*—to be found in the Salisbury Manual, fol. cxxiii, immediately after the *Dirige*, or Matins and Lauds for the dead—consists of certain portions of the psalms, and used to be sung over the corpse, just before Mass, and while the priest was in the church-yard marking the grave. It was, therefore, quite different from the *Recommendation of the Soul*, at the point of death. (*Ibid.* fol. xciiii, b.) There is nothing like it in the Roman ritual.

digging the shape of a cross upon the ground, in the meanwhile saying aloud those words of the psalmist: "Open ye to me the gates of justice; I will go into them, and give praise to the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord; the just shall enter into it." (Ps. cxvii, vv. 19, 20.)[52] Going back into the church, the priest said or sang Mass; after which, putting off his chasuble, he and his ministers stood at the head of the corpse, and began what, to speak strictly, should be looked upon as the burial service.[53] Having censed with sweet-smelling incense, and sprinkled holy water on the dead body, the celebrant besought all present to say an *Our Father* for the soul.[54] Lifting up the

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[52] Deinde eat sacerdos cum stola et aqua benedicta ad locum ubi sepeliendus est mortuus, et signo crucis signet locum, et postea aspergat aqua benedicta. Deinde accipiat sacerdos fossorium vel aliud instrumentum, et aperiat terram in modum crucis ad longitudinem et latitudinem corporis defuncti, dicens, "Aperite michi," etc. (*Manuale Sarum*, fol. ci.) Very likely one of the uses for which the low, narrow door on the south side of the chancel, in almost all our old parish churches, served, was to let the priest out into the church-yard, to mark the grave at a burial.

[53] *Manuale Sarum*, fol. cxxxvi, b. By the York ritual, the officiating priest was to be vested in a silken cope: Post Missam sacerdos in albis et capatus solus capa serica cum suis in albis.

[54] Deinde sequatur *Kyrieleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie leyson.* Deinde roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro

bier, the friends carried it out, as the clergy chanted a psalm ;[55] and all going to the spot whereat a shallow cross had been traced on the ground by the priest, they placed themselves about it while the grave was dug, singing, in the interval, the CXVII psalm.[56] After a collect, the priest blessed, and incensed, and sprinkled, the newly-made grave; and the body of the dead was lowered into it as the clerks sang the XLI psalm ;[57] after which, the priest said another collect, begging of God to forgive its sins to the poor soul of the departed. This done, the priest put upon the breast

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anima defuncti, dicens, "Pro anima N. et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum: Pater noster, etc." (*Ibid.* fol. cxxxviij b.) Such a form of prayer often comes during the Salisbury burial service; and in the Office for the dead, celebrated for high personages, used to be given out, with much solemnity, by a herald, robed in his tabard or coat-armour, and standing at the chancel door, with his face turned towards the people, who were in the nave of the church.

[55] Hic deportetur corpus ad sepulchrum, cantore incipiente antiphonam: "In paradisum." Ps.: "In exitu Israel," etc.—*Ibid.*

[56] Finitis orationibus aperiatur sepulchrum cantore incipiente antiph.: "Aperite." Ps.: "Confitemini Domino," etc.—*Ibid.* fol. cxxxix b.

[57] Hic aspergatur aqua benedicta super sepulchrum, et incensetur sepulchrum. Finitis orationibus, ponatur corpus in sepulchro, cantore incipiente antiph.: "Ingrediar." Ps.: "Quemadmodum," etc.—*Ibid.* fol. cxli.

of the corpse a parchment scroll, written with the Absolution,[58] whilst he himself pronounced its litur-

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[58] Finitis orationibus claudatur sepulchrum ponente prius sacerdote absolutionem super pectus defuncti sic dicendo: "Dominus Jesus Xps qui beato Petro apostolo suo ceterisque discipulis suis licentiam dedit ligandi atque solvendi ipse te absolvat N. ab omni vinculo delictorum, et in quantum mee fragilitati permittitur; precor sis absolutus vel absoluta ante tribunal eiusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi habeasque vitam eternam et vivas in secula seculorum. Amen."—*Manuale Sarum*, fol. cxli, *b*.

By the laws of the Church, each one was bound, as now, to go and confess his sins unto his own pastor; and so straightly used such a discipline to be followed throughout all this land, that, among the Anglo-Saxons, what we now call parish, went by the name of "shrift-shire" (canon ix, under king Edgar, *Ancient Laws*, ed. Thorpe, ii, p. 246); and for one priest to hear the confession of an individual not belonging to his flock, except in a case of need, was deemed a breach of the canons. To show how she sorrowed at sinfulness, and to keep her children as far off as might be from its guilt, the Church bethought herself of reserving unto the bishop of the diocess all absolutions for the more heinous kinds of sins, however truly sorrowful those might be who had unhappily fallen into them; and unto the head of Christ's Church on earth, the Roman pontiff, that for the very darkest sorts. By thus making it necessary for the worse class of sinners, however repentant, to betake themselves towards a higher tribunal, and in doing so, to go a long and oftentimes a wearisome journey before they could get absolution, it was hoped that a more lasting sorrow would be awakened in the sinner's

gical form, and having sprinkled the body again with holy water, and censed it, the CXXXI psalm

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own heart, whilst others, scared by his toils, might be frightened from his evil ways. After a time, this discipline became somewhat softened, and the Roman pontiff granted dispensations in the form of bulls, bestowing a double favour—one upon the holders of them to choose once, during life, any duly appointed priest whom they liked to hear their confession—the other upon that priest so chosen, to absolve his penitent, but for that one time only, from all reserved cases. To hinder, however, the slightest abuse of such an ecclesiastical kindness, the instrument itself told in strong and unmistakable words that if the individual who had gotten it, dared to do anything sinful under the presumption of having forgiveness through the virtue of this privilege, the bull, by the very deed, became quite void and ineffectual. This document is it that the Salisbury ritual means when, in the *Visitation of the Sick*, it says: Licet sacerdos possit de facto absolvere infirmum in articulo mortis ab omnibus peccatis suis; tamen si aliquis casus occurrat in confessione à quo ipse sacerdos eum aliàs de jure absolvere non posset; injungendum est infirmo quòd cum convaluerit presentet se illi ad confitendum qui eum de jure vel consuetudine in hac parte absolvere debeat..... Si infirmus Bullam habeat Apostolicam de plenaria absolutione et remissione omnium peccatorum suorum semel in articulo mortis concessam, tunc primo legat sacerdos effectum Bulle; deinde ceteris peractis.... fiat eius absolutio, etc. (*Manuale Sarum*, fol. lxxxvij b.) As may be supposed, the exercise of this privilege was kept for the last hour. When the holder of it died, the writing, always on parchment, was put upon the corpse's

was recited, along with a prayer calling upon Heaven for mercy towards the dead, and the one

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breast, and buried along with it, as we have seen by the rubric given at the beginning of this note. On opening old graves, some of these very "absolutions," as they were sometimes called, have been found quite whole and readable; so that we are enabled to behold the exact wording of such valuable documents, and to observe how expressive they are of the teaching of the Catholic Church then, as now, about the requisites for the forgiveness of sins in the Sacrament of Penance.

When the tomb of Sir Gerard Braybrook and his wife, Elizabeth, was opened, A.D. 1608, there was found, in the leaden coffin of the knight, an indulgence to him and his wife, granted by Pope Boniface IX, A.D. 1390, in which, among other things, the pontiff says: Hinc est quod nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati, ut confessor quem quilibet vestrum duxerit eligendum omnium peccatorum vestrorum de quibus corde contriti, et ore confessi, semel tantum in mortis articulo plenam remissionem vobis in sinceritate fidei.... persistentibus authoritate apostolica concedere valeat devotioni vestræ tenore presentium indulgemus; sic tamen quod idem confessor, de hiis de quibus fuerit alteri satisfactio impendenda eam vobis per vos, si supervixeritis, vel per hæredes vestros, si tunc forte transieritis faciendam injungat; quam vos vel illi facere teneamini ut præferatur; et ne vos (quod absit) propter hujusmodi gratiam reddamini procliviores ad illicita in posterum committenda, nolumus, quod si ex confidentia remissionis hujusmodi aliqua forte committeritis, quoad illa prædicta remissio vobis nullatenus suffragetur. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis et

now lying before them in particular.[59] The priest then strewed some earth over the corpse, so as to form a cross upon it. As those around were singing the CXXXIX psalm the grave was filled up,[60] and after again earnestly recommending the departed soul to the kindness and forgiveness of God, and saying several psalms and collects, the procession went back into church, singing the seven penitential psalms.[61]

Such was the becoming service which the Salisbury Use set forth for the burial of the lowliest and the poorest of our Catholic forefathers; such, too, with few and unimportant varieties, was that employed by the Anglo-Saxon rite: in both, the

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concessionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. (*Dugdale, Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 32.) A similar indulgence, granted by the same pope, to Laurence Allerthorp, canon of St. Paul's, was discovered in his grave. (*Ibid.* p. 57.) In the Black Freres (at Boston) lay one of the noble Huntingfeldes, and was a late taken up hole, and a leaden bulle of Innocentius, bishop of Rome, about his neck.—*Leland's Itin.* vi, 53.

[59] *Manuale Sarum*, fol. cxli b.

[60] Finitis orationibus executor officii terram super corpus ad modum crucis ponat, et corpus thurificet, et aqua benedicta aspergat; et dum sequens psalmus canitur corpus omnino cooperiatur, cantore incipiente antiphonam: "De terra plasmasti me."—*Ibid.* fol. cxlij b.

[61] *Ibid.* fol. cxlvi.

same liturgical elements are to be found—lights were carried, incense was burned, the cross borne, and a bell rung before the corpse on its way to the grave—priests and clerks, arrayed in their sacred garments, sang sorrowfully as they walked, in a slow step, with the bier:[62] in both, the self-same belief of a purgatory is announced, and oft-repeated prayer feelingly and lovingly breathed in the departed soul's behalf.

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[62] By the laws of St. Edward the Confessor we learn what was the usual rite for burying the dead in those times, since the highway-robber, slain by those he sought to rifle, was fetched to church, and interred after the manner following: Justicia episcopi faciat venire processionem cum sacerdote induto alba et manipulo et stola et clericis in suppelliciis, cum aqua benedicta et cruce et candelabris et thuribulo cum igne et incenso; et sic extrahant mortuum a terra ponentes in feretrum, et deportent eum ad ecclesiam. Cantata missa et sancto servicio, interrent eum sicut Christianum. (*Leges Regis Edwardi Confessoris*, ed. Thorpe; *Ancient Laws*, etc. i, 460.) For other Anglo-Saxon ceremonies at the burial of the dead, the reader may consult what has been said at notes 68, 69, pp. 306, 307, of the present volume. Abbot Ceolfrid was carried to the grave by crowds of his countrymen, singing psalms, along with the inhabitants of Langres, in France, where he died, on his way to Rome: Sepultus (abbas Ceolfridus) in crastinum ad austrum ejusdem civitatis (Lingonarum), astante ac psalmos resonante exercitu non parvo tam Anglorum qui cum eo advenerant quam monasterii ejusdem vel civitatis incolarum.—*Vita S. Ceolfridi*, auctore Ven. Beda, ed. Stevenson; *Op. Hist. Min.* p. 162.

But funerals, like all the other ceremonies of the Church, could be, and were performed, from the earliest times, with more or less solemnity; and though the function's comeliness was of a kind not bright, but sad and sorrowful, it had about it a dim splendour, which sent thrilling and wholesome truths home to the heart of the thoughtful beholder, whether high or low, poor or wealthy, according to this world's standard.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, the splendour of a funeral, as we may see in that given to St. Æthelwold, consisted in shrouding the bier with many palls, woven with costly silks and elaborately embroidered; upon these were set copies of the Gospels, beautifully written, and bound in solid gold and silver, curiously wrought and studded with precious stones; crosses, too, radiant with the same costly metals and jewels, were also placed there; a burning cloud of lighted tapers, carried by clerks, old and young, hovered about it as it moved along; and mournful hymns and psalms arose from the procession all the way upon the road. As the doleful train neared the walls of Winchester, the gates of that city poured forth a tide of people: monks, nuns, and lay-folks, mingling into one wide stream, came out to bear their lifeless bishop's body to the minster; and the deep-toned chant of the officiating clergy, and the sobs of the orphaned poor, and the mournings of the throng, swelled into one loud wail of sorrow for the dead.[63]

No less solemn were the funerals of the great in this country after the Anglo-Saxon period. Royal personages were clad in all their princely robes;[64] and among churchmen, from the archbishop downwards to the lowliest "clergion", each one was arrayed in the vestments belonging to his grade in the hierarchy: thus robed in his own peculiar attire, priest[65] and prince were carried forth to be buried.

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[63] Omnes cum dolore et amaro animo sequebantur feretrum, incomparabili thesauro pretiosum sacrosanctis evangeliis et crucibus armatum, palliorum velamentis ornatum, accensis luminaribus et hymnis cælestibus atque psalmorum concentibus hinc inde vallatum: quibus sequenti die Wintoniam ingredientibus obviam corpori tota simul civitas unanimiter occurrit. Hinc ejulantes turbas conspiceres monachorum, inde pallida agmina virginum; hinc audires in excelso voces psallentium clericorum; inde gemitum flentium pauperum, etc.—*Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, auctore Wolstano, ed. Mabillon; *AA. SS. O. B.* t. vii, p. 610.

[64] *Manuale Sarum*, fol. xcviij b. In looking upon any of the old Catholic royal tombs in Westminster Abbey or Canterbury Cathedral, the liturgical student will find a commentary, in stone, upon the Salisbury rubric, for the way in which kings and queens were to be arrayed for burial,—so exactly does the effigy answer the directions of the ritual.

[65] Belonging to St. Paul's, London, there was a clerks' brotherhood; and when any of them died, those in the same orders as the deceased, came vested in surplices, and carried the corpse from his house to that cathedral where the whole gild met and celebrated the burial service: Si

This procession was headed by an acolyte with a cross between two clerks, each of whom carried a peculiar kind of light called "a white branch", because composed of three tapers shooting up out of one root as it were, being twisted together at the lower end—an emblem of the Trinity.[66] If the

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vero decesserit, hora competenti ad ecclesiam ab hospicio deferatur ab ejusdem ordinis clericis cujus et ipse fuerit, in suppelliciis et officium pro defunctis plene et solempniter celebrabitur.—Vol. iii, Part iii, p. 121, of this work.

[66] Fyrst the crosse, and on eyther side the ij whyte branches, borne by ij clerks.... the xxiiij clerks, and viiii prysts.... then Edward Merylon, his hoode on his heade, bearing the standerde.... after hym, Sir Richard Wheytley and Sir Richard Harrys, chapleyns, in theyre gownes and typpetts, etc.—*Lord Bray's Funeral*, described in a manuscript possessed by the Heralds' College.

Among the dues anciently belonging to the parson or curate of our English parish churches, were: "All the branches of white wax, if any be brought in with the corse. Which branches cost vi*s.* viij*d.*, sometimes x*s.*, sometimes xiij*s.* iv*d.*; and some pay more. (*Walton on Tithes, Stow's London*, t. ii, b. iv, p. 26.) The bleaching of wax was not such an easy process then as now; therefore white tapers were expensive. I suspect that the wax of which church-lights were made, during Catholic times, in this country, was but slightly bleached; for several Salisbury service-books (one, a manuscript manual) in my own possession, still have, upon many leaves, the droppings of tapers, the wax of which, by the tint which it yet keeps, will show that it must have always been rather yellow. Among the expenses of the gild of the Holy Trinity, in St. Botolph's

deceased was a knight, his helmet, shield, sword, and coat-armour worked with his armorial bearings, were each carried by some near kinsman, or by a herald clad in his blazoned tabard;[67] members of his household, bearing pennons charged with his several quarterings, and, high above them all, the large standard of his arms, walked next; a long line of clergy, singing the funeral service, followed; then, borne upon servants' shoulders, came the corpse, overspread with a costly pall made of the finest black velvet, striped all through with a wide cross of silver tissue, though sometimes the whole was one cloth of gold, but of whatever material, scocheons of arms were always sewed here and there about the border of this pall, as well as upon the hangings of fine broad-cloth which were

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church, without Aldersgate, London, mention is often found of "the makyng of the branche byforne the Trinyte, and waste of wex."—*Hone's Ancient Mysteries*, p. 83.

[67] At ys (Sir John Dudley's) beryng .... a mornar baryng ys standard, and after, a-nodur beyryng ys gret baner of armes, gold and sylver, and a-nodur beyryng ys elmett, mantyll, and the crest.... and after, a-nodur mornar bayryng his targett, and a-nodur ys sword; and after cam master Somersett, the harold, bayryng ys cott armur, of gold and selver, and then the corse, covered with cloth of gold to the grond.... and so the Masse, songe in Laten; and after ys helmet ofered, and cott and targatt; and after all was endyd, offered the standard and the baner of armes, etc.—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 44.

often hung, not only about the church, but outside on the house, about the gates, and along the walls of the street—did he die in a town—wherein the deceased had dwelt.[68] Immediately around the body went a crowd of poor persons, clad in gowns with hoods, usually of black, but sometimes of grey strong cloth, and each of these men[69] held in one hand a large, thick, burning staff-torch, in the other his pair of beads: within this circle, and close to the corpse, were carried the four banners—two before, two behind—of the dead person's "avow-

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[68] At the burial of Sir R. Dobes, Lord Mayor of London, "all the cherche and the stret hangyd with blake and the qwyre and armes, etc. (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 106). For the burial of the wife of another Lord Mayor was "the strett hangyd with fyn brod clothes, and the chyrch, etc. (*ibid.* p. 110). When "master Machyll, altherman, was bered, all the chyrche (was) hangyd with blake and armes, and the strett with blake and armes, and the plase, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 171.

[69] Not only men but poor women had given them, at burials, mourning gown and a head-covering called a rail; but stood about the hearse in church holding torches in their hands: the xxvj day (of November, A.D. 1556), was bered masteres Heys a mersere's wyff in Althermanbere, with ij whyt branchys and ten stayffe torchys, and iiij grett tapurs, and xvj women bayreng them and holdeng them, and they had new gownes and raylles, etc. (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 119); and xx men had xx gownes of sad mantyll fryse, and xx women xx gowns of the sam frysse, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 109.

ries", which were small square vanes beaten out of gilt metal, painted with the figures of his patron saints and fastened flag-wise upon staves:[70] the chief,[71] and other mourners, closed the procession.

But for the bishops,[72] the princes, and the nobility of the kingdom, the funeral train was made still more impressive. Upon a low four-wheeled carriage, called the "chariot",[73] open on all sides,

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[70] The "avowries" are well seen in the etching, given further on, of Abbot Islip's hearse, at the corners of which there were "a banner of our Ladie . . . Seynt Petres, Seynt Edmonds, Seynt Katheryns," each upheld by its bearer, in "blak gownes and hodes on theyre heades."—*Vet. Monum.* iv, 2.

[71] Ladies might be chief mourners, and then were supported by a gentleman: "the cheyff morner" at the burial of My Lady Whyt was "my lade Laxtun, and master Roper led her; and mony morners," etc.—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 167.

[72] Bp. Gardiner's funeral procession towards Winchester was most solemn, for "at ys gatt the corse was putt into a wagon with iiij welles all covered with blake, and ower the corsse ys pyctur mad with ys myter on ys hed, with ys armes, and v gentyll men bayryng ys v banars, in gownes and hods, then ij harolds in ther cote armur, master Garter and Ruge-Crosse, then cam the men rydyng, carehyng of torchys a lx bornyng at bowt the corsse all the way, and then cam the mornars in gownes and cotes, to the nombar unto ij c, a-for and be-hynd, and sò at sant George's cam prestes and clarkes with crosse and sensyng, and ther they had a grett torche gyffyn them, and so to ever parryche tyll they cam to Winchester, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 101.

with its roof upheld by thin shafts, and drawn by horses, lay stretched out, so as to be well seen, the corpse of the bishop, vested in his full pontificals, or the dead king or queen, arrayed in all their royal splendours. When, however, decay had been quicker than usual at its work and had darkened the features, the body was chested, and upon it laid an effigy of wax, made to the likeness and clad in the garments of that prince or prelate whom it had been fashioned to represent.[74] However far

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[73] In *The Crafte to lyve well and to dye well*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. 1505, the title-page is embellished with a rough wood-cut, showing a burial-chariot, drawn by one horse. This carriage is on four low wheels, and quite open; within it lies a corpse, at full length, wrapped about and sewed up in a winding-sheet; and a lad seems to have the guiding of the horse, which is covered with richly diapered housings.

[74] Then came the charett wherein the kyng's corps lay. Upon the which lay a picture resemblinge his person, crowned and richly apparreled in his parliament robe, bearinge in his right hand a scepter, and in his left hand a ball of golde; over whome there was hanginge a riche cloth of golde, pitched upon fowre staves, which were sett at the fowre corners of the saide charett, wich charett was drawen with seaven great coursers, trapped in black velvett. (*Henry VII's Funeral*, Leland's *Collect.* iv, 304.) In the description of a funeral service for Henry VIII, celebrated at Norwich, the figure is called "a mortes of wax" (note 80, p. 497). At Queen Mary's funeral "the corsse was brought fourth, and sett in the chariott, and the palle

might have been the place of death from its burial place, the corpse was carried thither with a blaze of lights, a long train of horsemen,[75] and a crowd

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laide over the same, and a syd on the said palle laye the presentation (Leland's *Collect.* v, 313). At Bishop Gardiner's burial there was put "ower the corsse ys pyctur, mad with ys myter on ys hed."—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 101.

[75] The xx day of March, the Earl of Bedford, Lord privy-seal, who died at his house beside the Savoy, was carried to his burying-place in the country, called Chenies, with three hundred horse, all in black. He was carried with three crosses, with mony clerkes and prestes, till they came to the hill a-boyffe sant James, and ther returnyd certain of them home; and thay had torchys and almes and money gyven them. And after evere man sett in aray on horssebake. First on red (one rode) in blake bayryng a crosse of sylver and serten prestes on horsebake wayryng ther surples; then cam the standard, and then all the gentyllmen and hed officers; and then cam haroldes on (one) beyryng ys elmet, and the mantylle, and the crest, and anodur ys baner of armes, and anodur ys target with the garter, and anodur ys cott amur, and then cam the charett with vj banars rolles of armes, and a-bowt the charett iiij banars of ymages, and after the charet a gret horsse trapyd in cloth of gold, with the sadyll of the sam; and then cam mornars, the cheyffe of whom my lord Russell ys sune, and after my lord trayssorer, and the master of the horse, and dyvers odur nobull men, all in blake; and evere towne that he whent thrughe the clarkes and prestes mett ym with crosses; and thay had in evere parryche iiij nobuls to gyffe to the pore, and the prest and clarke of evere parryche xs., tyll he cam to ys plasse at

of clerks, in their liturgical attire singing their service the whole way: the clergy, with their people, all along the road walked forth to meet the body as it neared their parish bounds, and brought it processionally to their church, wherein it stopped for the night, not indeed in lonely darkness, but amid lights, and with some of the neighbouring clergy watching and praying by it until morning, when, after *Dirige* had been chanted, the holy Sacrifice offered up, the Mass-penny given, and a plentiful dole bestowed upon the poor, it was moved onwards.[76] For a bishop, the great western doors of his cathedral were thrown wide open; the horses drew the chariot in, and, walking slowly up

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Cheynes; and the morowe after was he bered, and a grett doll of money; and ther the deyn of Powlles mad a godly sermon; and after a grett dener and gret plenty to all the contrey a-bowt that wold com thether (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 83). My lade Anne of Cleyff, sumtyme wyff unto Kyng Henry the viijth, cam from Chelsey to be buried unto Westmynster (A.D. 1557), with all the chylderyn of Westmynster, and many prest and clarkes, and then the gray ames of Powlles and iij crosses, and the monkes of Westmynster, and my lord bysshope of London, and my lord abbott of Westmynster, rod together next the monkes. —*Machyn's Diary*, p. 145.

[76] To xii pore men beryng torches from London to Norfolk be vi days, *i.e.*, takynge eche of them on the day, iiij*d.*, and for iij dayes in goyng homerward, etc. *Funeral expences of John Paston*, A.D. 1466.—*Blomefield's Norfolk*, vi, 483.

the whole length of the nave, were not unharnessed until they had brought the body to the choir-door, where they were claimed as part of the bishop's mortuary gift, and led away by servants of the chapter.[77] Sometimes the prince's or the noble-

[77] In exequiis Domini Ricardi Kellowe (A.D. 1316) habuit ecclesia Dunelmensis duos equos deferentes corpus ejusdem patris a manerio suo de Midilham usque ad navem ecclesiæ (*Wills, etc., of the Northern Counties*, p. 21). In exequiis Lodowici episcopi habuit ecclesia Dunelm. unam veredam cum v equis ipsam veredam trahentibus a villa de Brantingham, una cum corpore ejusdem usque in navem ecclesiæ Dunelm. (*ibid.* p. 23). Accesserunt executores dicti domini episcopi Thomæ de Hatfield (A.D. 1381) ad dominum priorem, rogantes, quatenus ob honorem corporis possent veredam, Anglice *chariot*, in qua dicti episcopi corpus fuerat deportatum, simul cum corpore in ecclesiam introducere, ac postea ipsam veredam cum equis libere abducere et rehabere; alias nollent ipsam veredam infra cœmiterium adducere, sed extra cœmiterium corpus deponere ac super hominum humeros in ecclesiam deportare; quia ut asserebant, nec vereda nec equi episcopi fuerant;—respondit dominus prior, se nolle libertates, consuetudines, et jura ecclesiæ infringere quovis modo; quin veredam, equos, et pannos quoscunque cum quibus intraret corpus in portam borealem, haberet sacrista ecclesiæ, etc. (*Willielmi De Chambre Contin. Hist. Dunelm.* inter *Hist. Dunel. Script. Tres*, published by the Surtees Society, p. 142.) Such a rite seems to have been confined to bishops: the nobleman's corpse was carried into church upon the shoulders of his retainers; thus:—In exequiis ejusdem (domini Radulphi de Nevyll, A.D. 1355) corpus ejus in una

man's corpse was taken to its last home here, not accompanied by a line of poor beadsmen carrying torches, nor by a crowd of clerks and kinsmen upon horseback, but by water, in a funeral barge, hung all about with lamps.[78] It must have been a mode that had much and peculiar solemnity: the most thoughtless could not but stop a while, and from the banks of our majestic Thames gaze, perhaps in prayerful silence, upon the mastless vessel as it crept softly from London up the stream through the dusk of evening, with no other sounds than the sullen splash of slow-drawn oars and the chantings of the clergy, heard by fits above the sighings of the wind.

To receive the dead body, there used to be put up for churchmen and nobles, in the middle of the choir, for all others, in the nave of the church, a "hearse",[79] which was a lofty frame-work of

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vereda cum vij equis usque ad valvas cimiterii ferebatur, et ibidem, equis cum vereda revertentibus, milites corpus ejusdem accipientes in ulnis suis in navem ecclesiæ inferebant ubi solempnes exequiæ pro eo fiebant, etc.—*Wills, etc., of the Northern Counties*, p. 27.

[78] Ostensum est corpus (Henrici VI) per dies aliquot in ecclesia Sancti Pauli, Londoniis, atque abhinc per fluvium Thamesis ad ecclesiam conventualem monachorum de Chertsey, Winton. diocesi, quindecim ab urbe milliaribus, in quadam ad hoc cum luminaribus solenniter præparata barga, defertur humandum.—*Hist. Croylandensis Continuatio*, ed. Gale, t. i, p. 556.

wood, usually of four, but sometimes, for high personages, of six, and even eight posts, with another springing in the upper story from the centre, all of them so bound round with fine black cloth, silk, or velvet, as to hide the timbers. From these uprights, technically called "principals", as well as from the ribs which spanned the top and kept the whole together, sprouted out hundreds of gilt metal branches for wax tapers; and dotted all over amid them, drooped a great many small flags or "pennoncels."[80] The first story of the hearse was ceiled

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[79] This "hearse" is sometimes found noticed in rubrics of foreign churches, as the "castrum doloris"; its use is still kept up for the burial service of the supreme Pontiff, and other high personages at Rome, where it is known as the "catafalco"; in France, too, it is employed and called "chapelle ardente". It was a great favourite here: Pro exequiis Domini Edmundi fratris Regis (Eduardi I), pro factura 986 cereorum et 8 mortar, etc., pro clavis minutis ad eosdem cereos attach' et filo pro eisdem ad hercias ligandis .... Portagio 200 cereorum ... usque prioratum monialium extra Alegate, 217 cereorum ... ad ecclesiam Sancti Pauli et 559 cereorum usque abbatiam Westmon' ad hercias in eisdem locis existentes pro exequiis ibidem celebrandis, etc. (*Liber Quotidianus Guarderobæ Edwardi I*, pp. 46, 47.) When the chancel or the choir happened to be wide enough, these erections were placed there for grand funerals: In the qwer was a hersse made of tymbur and covered with blake, etc.—*Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 44, edited by J. G. Nichols for the Camden Society.

[80] Particular attention would seem to have always been

with an awning of silk, hung all about with a scocheoned valance, and this tester-like covering

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paid to the splendour of these hearses, as we may gather from many documents:—Exequyes, imprimis, the charge of a dyryge with iij masses, and an herse set at Crysts-Church, for the soul of King Henry the Eighth.

Paid for all charges of an herse, with cxx lyghts, and dyverse floryshes, hangyngs, and a mortes of wax, xl*s.* To the peynter for vj scogeons of the kyngs armys, made with fyne gold and bice, xii*s.*, and for vj other scogeons, iij*s.*; paid for makyng a traverse about the herse, that no man should come within it, and for raysyng an altar within the same, xxv*s.*; item, gave to xiij poore men that satte aboute the herse at dyryge and mass time, iv*s.* iv*d.*: item, to vj prests that sang vj masses within the traverse in the tyme of the servyce in the quire, ij*s.*; for fetchyng things borrowed, as a bere, fourms, a tabil for the altar, black hangyngs, crosse, basyn, etc. ix*d.* Item, gaf to the clarks of Cryste-churche for many pains about the herse, hanging the altar, ryngyng the clocher bells, etc. i*s.*; for clenyng a piece of black fresado that went about the traverse which was sore dropped with wax, viij*d.* (*Notes taken from the Chamberlain's Accounts*, Blomefield's *Norfolk*, iii, 216). In the funeral expenses of John Paston, who died A.D. 1466, occur the items following: for grey lynen cloth and sylk frenge for the hers, vi*l.* xvi*s.* ij*d.*; For makyng of the hers at Bromholm, xxii*l.* ix*s.* viij*d.* (*ib.* vi, 485). The j day of February was buried the duchess of Northumberland, at Chelsea, where she lived, with a goodly herse of wax and pensils, and escocheons, two baners of armes, and iiij banners of images, and mony mornars, and with ij haroldes of armes. Ther was a mageste and the valans, and vj dosen

was known as the "majesty".[81] Upon the coffin that lay beneath it was spread a wide, full pall of

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of torchys and ij whyt branchys; and alle the chyrche hangyd with blake and armes, and a canepe borne over her to the chyrche. (*The Diary of H. Machyn*, p. 81.) The make and size of this hearse often varied, according to the condition of the personage for whom it was erected; for Sir W. Laxton, lord-mayor, there was: "A goodly hers, with v prynsepalles and the majesty, and the valans gyltyd, and viij dosen of penselles, and xii dosen of skochyons, and a half of bokeram, etc. (*ibid.* p. 111); master Clarenshus' syster was bered with a herse mayd with ij stores and a c whytt candyllstykes, and in evere candyllstyke a grett qwarell of alff, a lb. of wax, and her armes apon the herse, and a dosen torchys and her armes apon" (*ibid.* p. 121). But "the hersse at Powlles, for the quen of Spayn, was the goodlest that ever was sene in England; the bare frame cost xl*l.* the carpenter's dute." It was "a boyffe the qwyer with ix prensepalles garnysyd, the goodlest that ever was sene, and all the prensepalles covered with blake velvett, and the mageste of taffata and the frynge gold; and all the qwyre and a-boyffe the qwyer and the sydes, and ondur foot, and the body of the chyrche one he (on high) hangyd with blake and armes and with xxxvj dosen of pensells of sylke welvett, with gold and silver, and xvj baners-rolles of armes, and iiij baners of whyt emages, wroght with fyne gold," etc. (*ibid.* p. 90.) Less costly, but still solemn, funerals were usually like that of Sir T. Cayffe, knight, who was "bered with iiij branchys, tapurs of wax, and penselles, with ij whyt branchys, and iiij dosen torchys, and vj dosen of skochyons, with a standard and a cott-armur, and pennon of armes, and iiij baners

black velvet, or cloth of gold, marked with a cross in the middle, and bearing a row of emblazoned

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of santes in owlle (in oil) wroth with fyne gold, and many morners, and master Lankoster, the harold," etc.—*Ibid.* p. 173.

Let us hope that, ere long, the use of this fine piece of olden Catholic symbolism—the hearse—with its hundred burning tapers, may be brought back again into use among us. To work the frame in such a way that it might be readily and quickly set up, and when taken to pieces again, put by into a small space, would not be difficult.

[81] This term came, in all likelihood, to be given to this silken ceiling, because, in most instances, the eternal Father, crowned with the papal tiara, and mantled in a splendid cope, like the supreme pontiff, was figured upon the under side, so as to seem looking down, with mild forgiveness, while he absolved, by a blessing from the three outstretched fingers of his uplifted right hand, the soul of the individual whose corpse lay just below. The Day of Doom, or last judgment, was sometimes painted there, as we find by note 84, p. 501. Matthew Paris lets us know how common it was to illuminate missals with the figure of the Majesty; for he tells us that, among the gifts bestowed by Richard, abbot of St. Alban's, upon the church of that house, there was: Unum missale, in quo canitur Missa matutinalis. Unde in principio Missæ pingitur ejus imago ad pedes majestatis quæ aureis literis et penna scriptis intitulatur. (*Vitæ S. Albani, Abb.* p. 35.) Printed on vellum, and within a cloud of angels, and having the emblems of the four evangelists, one at each corner, is the eternal Father, or Majesty, figured at the beginning of the canon, in a fine folio Salisbury missal in

scocheons by way of hem; and on the breast of the so-shrouded dead burned one of those white branches, or three-pronged candles, all through the service. To hold back the crowd, a strong wooden railing, painted black, ran all round the hearse, and within the carpeted inclosure stood at each of the four corners, as near as might be to the corpse, a bearer of an "avowry",[82] or picture of a patron saint; on the north, south, and east sides ranged the poor beadsmen, supporting large torches, while toward the west end, close to the coffin's head, knelt the chief mourners, hearing the Masses that were said at a temporary altar erected a little space asunder from the hearse's eastern foot, as is well shown in the etching we here give from an illumination of Abbot Islip's burial service in Westminster Abbey. Grand as the hearse must have been with such a radiance from its hundreds, nay, often a thousand burning tapers,[83] yet some-

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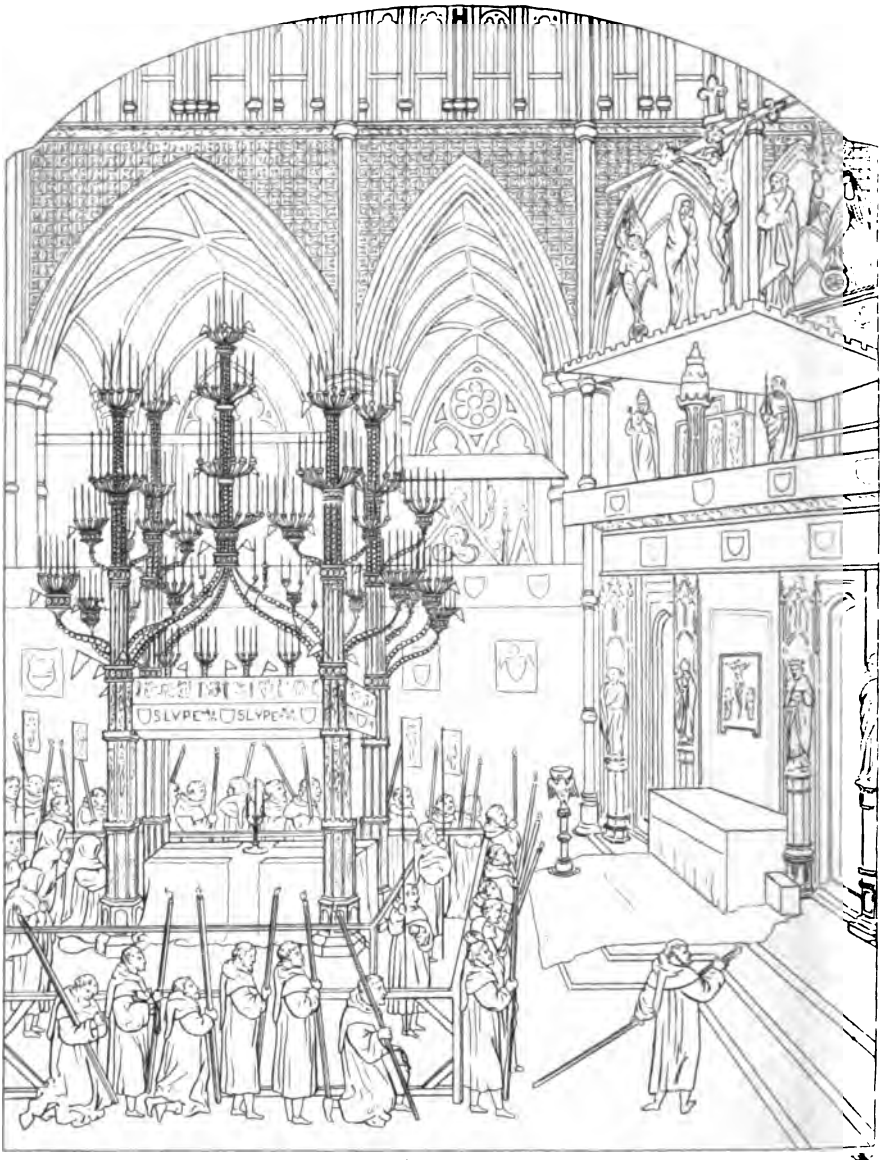
my possession; a print, likewise on vellum, of the crucifixion, comes just before it. These two engravings are wanting in most existing copies of this missal.

[82] iiij° banners were the king's (Henry VII's) avowries, whereof the first was the Trinitye, the second of our Ladie, the third of St. George, the fourth of ——. (*Funeral of King Henry VII, Leland's Collect.* iv, 304.)

[83] Such was the smoke from so great a number of lights, that we sometimes meet with an item like this: To the glaser for takyn owte of ij panys of the wyndows of the schyrche, for to late owte the reke of the torches at the



HEARSE

AT THE DIRGE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

FOR

ABBOT ISLIP'S

VETUST. MONUM. VOL. IV. PL. XVIII.

times it stood forth in even more solemn magnificence: story arose on story, and angels and archangels, saints, and effigies bespeaking the rank in life of the illustrious departed, all wrought in coloured wax, looked out from amid the lights that starred this glowing tabernacle.[84] Occasionally, however,

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deryge, and sowderyng new of the same, xx*d*. (*Funeral Expenses of John Paston*, A.D. 1466, *Blomefield's Norfolk*, vi, 484.) On the hearse alone, in Westminster Abbey, at Queen Mary's burial, there was "in lightes to the nombar of a thousand and more."—*Leland's Collect.* v, 318, quoted in next note.

[84] The hearse, in Westminster, for Queen Mary's burial there, was very grand: Betwene the steppes goinge up to the aulter and the quere dore, thier was maid a very somptiouse hersse, of viij square, with nine princypalles double storied, havinge in lightes to the nombar of a thousand and more, garneshed with xxxvi dozen penselles of sarsenet betten with gold and sylver of the quene's bages, the viii rochments hanged double with vallence of sarcenet wrytten with letters of gold and fringed with gilte fringe: on the same hersse many skochiones in metall, with many small skochiones of waxe; on the upper parte of the viij great postes stood viij archeangeles of waxe, and under them viij great skochiones of armes, within the garter of waxe; all the eight square of the hersse was garneshed and sett with angelles, morners, and quenes in their robes of estate, maid of waxe; under the hersse was a great Majestie of taffata lyned with bokeram, and in the same was maid a great dome of paynter's worke, with foure evangelistes of fyne gold; the eight postes were covered with blake velvett, and on every post a skochion of sarsenet wrought with

the highest and the noblest of the land besought to have no funeral display given to their burial, and asked for nothing more than a few large torches, with shields of arms hanging on them, to be set around their bier, and five tapers lit and placed upon the coffin.[85]

Over night, *Placebo* was sung; on the early morrow, *Dirige*,[86] followed by two Masses—one,

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fyne gold; the rayle of the same was hanged on bothe sides with fyne brode clothe and sett with skochiones of bokeram in fyne gold.... in the mydeste of the said walle agaynge the high aulter was maid a small aulter, which was covered with velvet and rychely garneshed with plate, etc.—*Leland's Collect.* v, 318.

[85] Volo quod quinque cerei stent circa corpus meum, in quorum quolibet sint tres libræ ceræ et non minus. (*Test. W. de Menneville*, A.D. 1371; *Wills, etc. of the Northern Counties*, p. 33.) Volo quod xxiiij torches et v tapers, quolibet taper pondere x lib. præparentur pro sepultura mea absque alio hercio; et volo quod dicti xxiiij torches teneantur per xxiiij pauperes indutos togis de russeto, etc. (*Test. Johannis de Nevill, Domini de Raby*, A.D. 1386; *Wills, etc.* p. 41.) Armorial bearings were emblazoned on small shields, which were hung upon the larger wax-lights. At the burial of Sir R. Dobbs, Lord-mayor of London, A.D. 1556, there were "iiij gylt chandyllstykes, with iiij grett tapurs with armes on them," etc. (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 106.) At another citizen of London's funeral, there were "iiij grett tapurs with armes," etc.—*Ibid.* p. 111.

[86] The choir service for the dead was rubricked according to Salisbury Use "Vigilie Mortuorum"—the wakes for the dead; in the Roman, it is called "Officium Mor-

of the Trinity; the second, of the blessed Virgin Mary—accompanied by the organ, and chanted in prick-song, or, as we would call it, florid music.[87]

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tuorum," and is to be found at the end of that breviary, while in the *Salisbury Portiforium* it stands somewhere about the middle of the book, just before the "Commune Sanctorum"; but in one and the other it consists of the same parts. During Catholic times in England, even-song for the dead was known by the term "Placebo," because such is the first word of that service, the anthem before the first psalm being "Placebo Domino in regione vivorum." Mortuary solemnities always began with even-song in the afternoon; on the early morrow, matins and lauds were chanted, after which the Mass was sung; then, if the body was there and to be buried in that church, the grave was blessed and the corpse consigned to the earth.

As the first anthem at matins commenced with "Dirige" ... Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam ... the whole of the morning's service, including the Mass, came to be designated a "Dirige" or Dirge: in like manner the Holy Sacrifice itself for the dead was termed the Mass of "Requiem," because its introit began with "Requiem æternam dona eis Domine."

In a very few instances, matins and lauds for the dead, instead of being called "Dirige" or Dirge, from the first word of the anthem, are named "Verba mea", from the first two words of the v psalm with which it begins, as may be seen in the note at p. 384 of this volume.

[87] Ther was iij masses songe, on (one) of the Trenete, and on of owre Lade, the iij of *requiem* (Machyn's *Diary*, p. 167). The first two masses were often sung in florid music, or as it was then called "pricksong": the morow

The mourners then went forth from church to a breakfast set out for them in a hall of the neighbouring monastery, or dean's lodgings. This meal over, they all walked back again to take their respective places about the hearse; the solemn high Mass of *Requiem* then began. At offertory time the mass-penny,[88] which had been duly presented

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iij masses song, ij of pryksong, and the iij of *requiem* (*ibid.* p. 171). While these three solemn masses were sung, low masses were said in the side chapels and at all the altars in the church: a trental (thirty) of masses used to be offered up for almost every one on the burial day.

[88] By "Mass-penny," we are not to understand that the amount is meant so much as the nature of the offering itself, carried up by lay-folks, on particular occasions, to the priest at the altar, during Mass. At the burial service in Ludlow castle, where he died, for Prince Arthur, during the first Mass, which was of our Lady, "no man offred but the Earle of Surrey as chiefe mourner. All the other mourners and officers of armes accompanied him, and he had both carpet and cushion. Sir W. Ovedall . . . gave him his offring, which was a piece of gould of xl*d.*, and always as often as the saide Earle offred the Masse-Pennyes, a gentleman of his owne bare his traine. The second Masse of the Trinitie was songe by the bishoppe of Salisbury and the queere without organies or children; and at that Masse the Earle of Surrey offred a piece of gould and v *s.* for the Masse pennye," etc. (*Leland's Collect.* v, 376.) Another herald's description of the funeral obsequies done for Queen Mary, lets us see the purpose of "the carpet and cushion" on these solemnitie: Then the Masse proceded tyll the offeringe, at which offeringe when

to the celebrant during each of the two other Masses, was now carried up with much state to

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the bushoppes torned them, the morners turned them, the morners stode upe and the chief morner cam fourth, havinge certayne noble men and the officers of armes before her, the rest of the morners followinge, her trayne borne, went to the aulter wher thier was laid by a gentillman usher a carpet and a cussion on the which she kneled, and havinge her offeringe delyved unto her, offered, and then rosse uppe and retorned to the hersse agayne, etc.—*Ibid.* p. 312.

In that beautifully written, and soundly argued work, *The Supplycacyon of Soulys made by Syr Thomas More, knyght*, against *The Supplycacyon of Beggars*, the holy and martyred chancellor of England refers in a feeling manner to the Mass-penny, as he brings in wives in purgatory speaking thus to their husbands, whom they have left still living upon earth: Ah, swete husbandes, whyle we lived there in that wretched world with you; while ye wer glad to please us, ye bestowed much upon us, and putte your self to great cost, and did us gret harme therwith with gay gownes and gay kyrtles and much waste in apparell, ringes and owches, with partlets and pastes garnished with pearle, with whiche proude pyking up: both ye toke hurt and we to many moe wayes then one, though we told you not so than. But ii thinges wer ther speciall, of which your selfe felt than the tone, and we feele now the tother. For ye hadde us the hygher hearted, and the more stubburne to you: and God had us in lesse favour, and that alacke we fele. For nowe that gay gear burneth upon our backes, and those proude pearled pastes hang hote about our chekes, those partlets and those owches hang heavye about our neckes,

the altar by the chief-mourner: then followed the offering of the sovereign's, or the great baron's armour; from the large western door-way of the nave, rode into the church a young knight upon a war-horse richly caparisoned, and dismounting at the hearse, or the choir steps, gave up the steed to be led away by the servants of the dean and chapter, or of the abbot;[89] then, by the heralds,

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and cleave fast fyre hote that woe be we there and wishe that while we lived, ye never had folowed our fantasies, nor never had so cockered us, nor made us so wanton, nor hadde given us other owches than ynions or great garlike headdes, nor other pearles for our partlettes and our pastes then fayre oriente peason. But now for asmuch as that is passed, and can not bee called agayn: we beseche you sith ye gave them us, let us have them still, let them hurte none other woman, but helpe to doe us good: sel them for our sakes to set in saints copes, and send the money hether by masse pennies, and by poore men that may pray for our soules.—Fol. xlii, b, and *Works*, London, 1557, p. 338.

[89] At the funeral of Henry VII in Westminster, after the chief nobles had been led up to the archbishop and made the offering of the royal arms at the foot of the altar, "there came ryding Sir Edward Howarde armed in complete harnes (his helmet except) upon a goodlie courser, trapped in black valvet, with the armes of England embroithered upon the same, which rode into the railes of the herse where he did alight, whome the said herauds incontinent received, whose horse was ymediatly delivered unto a servant of the abbotts of Westminster" (*Leland's Collect.* iv, 307). As many as eight horses fully caparisoned, and their riders properly appointed, have been brought into the

robed in their tabards, were slowly and solemnly carried up to the altar, sword, target, helmet, and coat-armour of the dead warrior;[90] the holy Sacri-

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church at the burial of some of the higher of our nobility: Ad Missam in crastino, oblati fuerunt viij equi, iiij pro tempore guerræ cum iiij hominibus armatis et omnibus armis et apparatu eorum, et iiij pro tempore pacis; et iij panni aurei indici coloris cum floribus intextis (in exequiis domini Radulphi de Nevyll in ecclesia Dunelmensi, A.D. 1355).—*Wills, etc. of the Northern Counties*, p. 27. Volo .... quòd j equus sit arraiatus pro guerra cum j homine armato de armis meis, cooperto de russeto cum scochons de armis meis, et alius equus de eadem setta cum j homine desuper pro banerio meo absque pluribus equis; et dicti duo equi oblentur die sepulturæ meæ sicut moris est, et sint demissi cum ecclesia.—*Ibid.* p. 44.

[90] The way in which the arms of a knight were offered at Mass, and carried up to and set upon the altar, is well shown by the following extract from a MS. in the Heralds' College, descriptive of John Lord Bray's funeral, A.D. 1557: Then at the offerynge, Mr. Garter, Rychemond, and Roudge Dragon proceaded uppe before the chief morner, thother vj morners following hym, where all onely he offeryd the massepennye a peece of golde, returnyd to hys place. Then Mr. Garter at thend of these delyvered the cote of armes to Mr. Thomas Cobham and Mr. Verney, who, with Rychemond before them, offeryd the same, which Roudge Dragon at the pryst's hands received, and placed on the awltre, and so they returnyd, going uppe the north ile, and returnynge down the south ile. Then Mr. Garter d—d (delivered) the target to Mr. John Cobham and Mr. Lyefylde, who with Roudge Dragon before them in lyke ordre, offeryd the same, which Rychemond placed

fice was proceeded with, and at its end, the large standard was borne unto the altar as the last offering: the corpse was lowered into the grave, the burial service was said, a large dole distributed to the poor, and the friends and kinsfolks of the deceased were bidden and went to the funeral dinner.[91]

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on the awltre, and returnyd; . . . then Mr. Garter d—d the swerde to Mr. Braye and Mr. Halshe, who with Rychemonde before them likewise offeryd the same, the hylte forwarde, which Roudge Dragon placed on the awltre. Then the ij fyrste morners agayne proceaded uppe with Roudge Dragon before them, in all poynts as afore and offerd thelme and creste which Rychemond placed on the awltre.

[91] The various rites observed of old in this country, are well set forth by the poet while chanting the praises and holy doings of the good knight Sir Amadas:

At morne when the dey began to spryng,
All the belles of that cety he gard to ryng
That soole for to plese.
All the relegyne of that towne,
Ageyn the cors yede with processyon,
With mony a ryche burges.
He gard xxx[ti] prestes that day syng;
Sir Amadas offerd withowt lesyng,
Truly at ylke a masse;
And he preyd hom then also,
That thei wold to the innes go,
The more and the lasse:—
Hyt is in the deyd name that Y speyke
He preys yow all unto the meyte
The pepull that ar here, etc.

—*Weber's Metrical Romances*, iii, 254.

The burial service followed at the funerals of Henry VII's son, Prince Arthur, of Henry VII himself, and of Queen Mary, will show us more exactly what was the ritual for royal personages' obsequies at the latter period of Catholicism in this country. The ceremonial, for the greater part of the service, was the same as that performed for the nobility, but with much more magnificence, and it was only at the end that a slight, yet interesting, variation could be found. After all his arms—helmet, shield, sword, and coat-armour—had been carried up to the altar and offered, "Then Sir John Mortimer, bannerett, Sir Richard de la Vere, bannerett, Sir Thomas Cornwall, and Sir Robert Throgmorton, bachelors, convayed the man of armes, which was the Earl of Kildare's sonne and heire, armed with Prince Arthur's owne harneys, on a courser richly trapped with a trapper of velvet embrothered with needleworke of the Prince's armes, with a pollaxe in his hande, the head downwards, into the midst of the queere, where the Abbot of Tewksbury, gospeller of that Masse, received the offering of that horse. Then the said man of armes alighted, and was led with the axe in his hand to the buishoppe,

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It was thought a work of mercy in behalf of the dead, as well as a deed of kindness towards the living, to give a dinner at a funeral: hence in many MS. books of *Hours*, the illumination at the beginning of the Dirge shows a well-spread board with guests sitting at it eating.

and from thence to the vestrye. But to have seene the weepinge when the offringe was done, he had a hard heart that wept not. Enduring the sermon there was a great generall dole of groats to every poore man and woman.

"At tyme of St. John's Gospell, Sir Griffith ap Rice offered to the deacon the rich embrothered banner of my Lordes armes.

"The Gospell finished, all the prelats came and senced the corpse, with all the convent (of Worcester cathedral) standing without the uttermost barres, singing divers and many anthemes. At every *Kurie Elyeson*, an officer at armes, with a high voice, said—'For Prince Arthur's soule, and all Christians' soules—*Pater noster.*' That finished, a minister of the church tooke awaye the palles; and then gentlemen tooke up the corpse and bare it to the grave. Then the corpse, with weeping and sore lamentation, was laid in the grave; the orisons were said by the bishop of Lincoln, also sore weeping. He sett the crosse over the chest and cast holye water and earth thereon. His (Prince Arthur's) officer of armes sore weeping, tooke of his coate of armes and cast it along over the chest right lamentably. Then Sir W. Ovedall, comptroller of his household, sore weeping and crying, tooke the staffe of his office by both endes, and over his owne head brak it, and cast it into the grave. In likewise did Sir Ric. Croft, steward of his household, and cast his staffe broken

into the grave. In likewise did the gentlemen ushers their roddes. This was a piteous sight to those who beheld it."[92]

At the burial of King Henry VII, that sovereign's horse was ridden into Westminster Abbey by the Earl of Surrey's second son, and duly offered; and after the Mass and sermon, "the archebissoppes, bissoppes, and abbotts went unto the herse. At whose comminge the palles and the iiij banners of the king's avowries were carried away by twoe monks. Which done, the picture was taken from the herse and borne unto St. Edward's shrine, the kyng's chappell singinge this anthem, *circumdederunt me gemitus mortis*, and then the said corps was incensed, and all the royal ornaments taken from the said corps, so that everie man might see the said corps cofferd in a coffin of bordes . . . . and soe the said corps was laid into the vaught with great reverence . . . . whome incontinent all the archebishops, bissops, and abbotts settinge theire crosses upon the said corps assolled, in the most solempn manner, saying this collett (*Absolvimus*). Which done, the said archebishop did cast earth upon the said corps. And then my Lord Treasorer and my Lord Steward did breake theire staves and did cast them into the vaught; and the other hed officers did cast their staves in, all whole. Which done the vaught, and a goodlie riche pall of clothe

[92] *Leland's Collectanea*, t. v, pp. 380, 381.

of gold laide upon the saide herse.. And incontinent all the herauds did of theire cotearmour, and did hange them uppon the rayles of the herse, cryinge lamentably in French, *the noble King Henry the Seaventh is deade.* And as soone as they had so done, everie heraud putt on his cotearmour againe and cryed with a loude voyce, *Vive le noble Roy Henry le VIII.*"[93]

At the magnificent burial service—the last of the kind—celebrated in Westminster for poor Mary, of injured memory, the prayer, " *Of your charitie praye for the sowlle of the most puissante and excellente princesse Mary by the grace of God late Quene of England, Spayne, etc., Pater noster,* was said at every *Keryaleson,* and at *Magnificat,* and *Benedictus.* Then the Dirige begon, etc.[94]

"The Order of the Offeringe at the Masse of Requiem" was as follows: the chiffe morner havinge before her the officers of the howshould and the officers of armes, with the noblemen, her trayne borne and assisted, her assystannts goinge with her, went to the aulter and offered the offeringe—having a carpet and a cussion laid for her by a gentillman usher: and after she had offered, she retorned to the hersse agayne, the other morners followinge her ii and ij.[95]

Then the corsse was let into the grave, and the archebushoppe caste earthe on the same.

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[93] *Ibid.* t. iv, pp. 308, 309. [94] *Ibid.* t. v, p. 319.
[95] *Ibid.* t. v, p. 321.

"Then came the noblemen, being officers, to the grave and brake thier staves over thier hedes, and caste the same in to the grave . . . . . and the gentillmen ushers thier roddes, and then they departed to the other noblemen; and the buriall ended."

Elizabeth was proclaimed in the church immediately after, when "the noblemen held upe thier hands and cappes; and the trompeter standyng in the rude lofte sounded."[96]

With such ritual magnificence were our kings and queens, our holy and munificent bishops and distinguished churchmen, our mighty earls, bold barons, and stalwart knights carried to the grave. This ceremonial was not idly splendid, but fraught with instructive lessons, and feelingly beautiful. The blazing hearse holding the cold, stiff corpse within, as it were, its own little firmament of light, was intended to be a commentary on these words so often repeated in the burial service—"may everlasting light shine upon him." The glowing rays from hundreds of tapers became no unfit symbol of a wishful prayer put up to God by every worshipper who heard that anthem, that the soul of their departed kinsman, or friend, or benefactor, might be soon, if not already, called by the gladdening voice of Christ to the happiness of heaven, and dwell there evermore with the brightness of

[96] *Ibid.* 323.

his lightsome countenance shining on it. The herald, in his gorgeously embroidered tabard, as he several times raised his saddened cry, that rolled in wailing peels along the black-draped walls of the cathedral, told, while he asked a prayer for the soul of the royal or the titled dead,[97] how death made no distinction, but breathed his withering breath upon the young, the beautiful, the strong, among the highest, as among the lowliest, in the land: the petition which he spoke dropped upon, and was intended for, the poor as well as the rich man's ear; and the tattered beggar was thus taught

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[97] And a-fore the durge began, the harold cam to the qwer dore and prayed for ys (Sir John Dudley's) soll by ys stylle, and so began the durge song in Latin, all the lessons, and then the harold prayd for a for masse, etc. (*Diary of H. Machyn*, p. 44.) The form used by the herald on those occasions may be seen in *Leland's Collectanea:* An officer at arms, with a high voice said, "For Prince Arthur's soule, and all Christians soules—Pater noster" (*ibid.* v. 380). At Queen Mary's dirge in Westminster Abbey, the herald cried out, "Of your charitie praye for the sowlle of the moste puissante and excellente princess Mary, etc., Pater noster", etc. (*ibid.* p. 319.) Then the bodye placed with the hatchments set thereon, and all other things in ordre, Rychemond herald bade the prayer as followeth: "For the soule of the Right Hoñable Sir John Braye, knight, late Lord Braye, of your charytie say a Pr. nr.", which he bade at other tymes accustomyd, and then dyridge began, which ended, Mass of "Requiem" begnn, etc.—*MS. in the Heralds' College.*

to know that his supplications in behalf of a soul in purgatory would be equally available with those sent forth from the noblest and most wealthy among the great ones there present.

When less magnificence was used, the ritual, for such as understood its meaning, had the same instruction. The five tapers so often set upon the coffin without any hearse over it, spoke of the Church's teaching to her children, that they should believe the pain due to sin, after its guilt has been forgiven here, must be cleansed away in the next world by going through the purgatorial state, or be forgiven while in this life, by the boundless merits of our divine Redeemer's atonements, brought to our remembrance in those tokens of the wounds inflicted on his hands and feet and side as he hung, nailed and bleeding, on the cross.

However few and small might have been those tapers that, in the poorest spot, while England remained constant to her old Catholic belief, were invariably set around the homeless stranger's or the lowliest pauper's bier, night and day, till he was buried,[98] they told, in a quiet way, the self same wishes breathing throughout our liturgy, for

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[98] Some of our old English Catholic poets have with much good effect brought in this ritual custom of never leaving the humblest individual's corpse in church all night. without tapers burning round it. Thus of Sir Amadas it is said:

the unclouded light of everlasting heaven to beam upon the dead man's soul.

Though the corpse had been buried, the funeral rites were not yet over. All through the month following, *Placebo*, and *Dirige*, and Masses continued to be said in that church, but with more particular solemnity on the third, the seventh, and the thirtieth day, at each of which times a dole of food or money was distributed among the poor.[99] The hearse was left standing, with an emblem of

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Betwene a forest and a cetè
He fonde a chapell of ston and tre
And saw therin greyt lyghtte.
* * * *
Over his heyd he drew his hode,
And to the chapell dore he yode
Mo anters for to here.
He loked in at a windo of glas
For to wytte what therin was,
And ther he fownde a bere;
A bere he saw and candyls too
A woman syttand and no mon, etc.

—*Sir Amadas*, Weber's *Metrical Romances*, iii, 246.

[99] Robert Salter, gent., by his will, dated A.D. 1534, bequeathed xl. to the poor on his burial day and the viith day following, and xl. on the xxx day following (*Blomefield's Norfolk*, ix, 203). Alice Christion, A.D. 1349, says: I will and bequeath that my executors make a dole on the day of my burial, the seventh day, and the thirtieth day; and give to every one that comes to the said dole a halfpenny or the value thereof.—*Swinden's Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, p. 817.

the dead lying beneath it;[1] the black hangings, powdered with scocheons, remained drooping from the walls about the choir and along the nave: upon a small wagon-headed frame of wood or iron, also called a hearse,[2] and set over the grave, lay cast in massy folds a rich pall; and lights, more or less in number, sometimes all day and night, sometimes only during the services, were kept burning there;[3] and on the thirtieth, another dirge was chanted, the hearse lit up again, a second sermon preached, and a larger dole bestowed. With these observ-

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[1] Immediately after the grand dirge at Westminster Abbey for Abbot Islip, "they of the churche did burye the defuncte in the seid chappell of his buyldynge . . . . . Then in the quere underenethe the hersse was made a presentacion of the corps covered with a clothe of golde of tyssewe with a crosse and ij white branches in candlesticks of silver and gylte. . . . . The herse with all thother things did remayne there still untill the monthes mynde."—*Vet. Monum.* t. iv, plates xv, etc. p. 3.

[2] A good example of this second kind of hearse, may still be seen over the admirable cumbent figure of Richard Earl of Warwick, in the beautiful Beauchamp chapel at St. Mary's church, Warwick.

[3] As soon as the grand Mass of Requiem was sung over the corpse of Abbot Islip, they buried him in "the chappell of his buyldynge, which was hangid with blacke cloth garnyshed with schoocheons, and over his sepulture a pawle of blacke velvet and ij candlesticks with angells of sylver and gylte with ij tapers thereon and iiij about the corpse burnynge still.—*Vet. Monum.* t. iv, plates xv, etc. p. 3.

ances, of what was called "the month's mind",[4] ended the funeral obsequies, from the earliest to the latest days of Catholic England.

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[4] The "month's mind" signified constant prayer in behalf of a dead person, during the whole month immediately following: hence, "to mind", meant "to pray for". Gaynour, or Guenever, Arthur's queen, on seeing the "gryselyche gost" of her mother, who was suffering the torments of Purgatory, thus speaks to it: "He (Christ) gif me grace to grete thi saule with the gode; and myn thè, with massus and matins, on morun." To this the ghost answers: "To mynne me with massus grete mestur hit were."—*Three Early English Romances*, edited by Robson for the Camden Society, p. 9.

But it was particularly on the third, the seventh, and the thirtieth, days of this month, that the services were more solemnly performed; most especially on this last day: "The iiij day of October was the monyth myn (month's mind), at Waltham abbay, of Master James Suttun, sqwyre, and clarke of the gren-cloth; and ther was a sarmon, and a dolle of money unto evere howse that ned the charete; and after, a grett dener." (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 69.) "The xxx day of August (A.D. 1556) was the monyth myn of Ser W. Laxtun, knyght and grocer; and the hersse, bornyng with wax; and the morowe masse, and a sarmon; and after, a grett dener; and after dener, the hersse taken down." (*Ibid.* p. 113.) By custom, certain fees were paid to the incumbent on these occasions: "At every month's mind, year's mind, or obit, the curate hath viij*d.* or xij*d.*" (*Walton's Treatise on Tithes*; in *Stow's London*, t. ii, b. iv, p. 26.) Of these sermons preached on the thirtieth day, we have a specimen in "A Mornynge Remembrance had

Whether, therefore, celebrated for the highest or the lowliest members of society—in the most simple and the plainest country church, or the most beautifully decorated cathedral—with all, or nothing of the ritual's magnificence, our funeral services at any time employed in this land till the change of religion under Edward VI and Elizabeth,[5] whether

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at the Moneth Minde of the noble Prynces Margarete, Countesse of Richmonde and Darbye", etc., by that glorious martyr to the Catholic Church in England, Cardinal Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

The people of this country clung to these good old practices; for, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, we find such notices of them as the following: "A.D. 1559. At the burial of R. Charilton, for his grave and the paule, and other benevolence to the church, and for his moneth's monument, 10*s*.

"At the burial of R. Hill, and at his moneth's mynde, 3*s*. 8*d*.

"At the yere's mynde of Agnes Walter, 8*d*. For gathering the herse lyghtes, 4*s*."—*Churchwardens' Accts. of St. Helen's, Abingdon; Illustrations, etc.*, by Nichols, p. 142.

That the "month's mind" for the souls of the dead, was as devoutly kept among the first believing Anglo-Saxons, as it continued to be up to the end of Mary's reign, in the middle of the sixteenth century, is beyond all doubt. This the reader will find true, by looking back at what we have brought forwards from the writings of two of the archbishops of Canterbury during the Anglo-Saxon period,—Theodore and St. Dunstan,—in note 82, p. 314 of this volume.

[5] In the first year of Elizabeth's reign "was bered Ser

those services were after the Anglo-Saxon, the Sarum, or other English Uses, proclaim with a clear, loud voice and many ceremonies, that cannot be mistaken, a belief in the doctrine of a middle state—a purgatory.

John Sentlow, knyght, with two haroldes of armes . . . but nodur crosse nor prest, nor clarkes, but a sermon, and after a salme of Davyd, etc. (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 191.) Describing the funeral of a Protestant woman about the same time, Machyn says: Ther was browth unto St. Thomas of Acurs in Chepe . . . masteres . . . and ther was a gret compene of pepull ij and ij together, and nodur prest nor clarke, the nuw prychers in ther gowne lyke leymen, nodur syngyng nor sayhyng till they cam to the grave, and a-for she was pute into the graffe a collect in Englys, and then put in-to the grayff, and after took some heythe and caste yt on the corse and red a thynge . . . for the sam . . . and contenent red the pystyll of sant Poll to the Stesselonyans and after thay song *pater-noster* in Englys, boyth prychers and odur and women of the nuw fassyn, and after on of them whent in-to the pulpytt and mad a sermon (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 193). Catholics can tell the time, the place, the persons, when, where, and by whom the changes were wrought in the olden faith of England: nay, they can say—and say weeping—the day and hour when the ancient was put away for a new and foreign belief. The xij day of May (A.D. 1559) be-gane the Englys service in the quen's chapel (*Machyn's Diary*, p. 197). The . . . . day of September be-gane the nuw mornyng prayer at sant Antholyn's in Boge-row, after Geneve fassyon.—*Ibid.* p. 212.

END OF VOL. II.

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BY J. O. WESTWOOD, F. L. S.,

Author of "Palæographia Sacra Pictoria," etc. etc.

The rapidity with which, within the last very few years, the public of this country has advanced towards an interest in, and appreciation of, the efforts of Mediæval art, has impelled several enterprising individuals to select from the numerous Illuminated Manuscripts that repose on the shelves of our own and other national libraries, specimens of their gorgeous and varied adornment. In the majority of instances these examples have been taken from paintings illustrative of the romantic fictions, the poetry, or the chronicles of the times.

More recently, however, the tide of popular taste has turned in the direction of such subjects as represent sacred events, or give pictorial expression to devotional sentiments. The favour which these have met, can surely not be abated when an attempt is made to illustrate from like sources the Holy Scriptures.

At the first blush, such an undertaking might appear to be supererogatory. The number of volumes devoted to Biblical illustration is so extensive, that a library of no limited dimensions could easily be stored with them;—especially from the gravers of French, German, and Dutch

artists. Nevertheless, these are of a date comparatively modern,—generally averaging from the close of the 16th Century; and setting aside their conventional formality, have nothing in common with the ideas of the more remote designers. To remedy this deficiency, and to present, in as cheap a form as possible, a series of fac-similies of Miniatures illustrative of the Events recorded in Holy Writ, copied from some of the more select Illuminated MSS. of the Middle Ages contained in our public Libraries and other sources, the present Work is intended.

The selection of the subjects has been made by J. O. Westwood, Esq. F.L.S. Author of "Palæographia Sacra Pictoria," and other works, whose name is well known in the archæological and scientific world. They have already partly appeared under the auspices of another publisher: but the property having come into the possession of the present proprietor, he has determined to re-issue them at a great reduction in price to the public.

"When we call to mind," says Mr. Westwood, "the fact that England is intrinsically very poor in the productions of middle-age Art, that our churches were never decorated with Mosaics, and that the frescoes with which some were adorned have been covered with whitewash and plaster by ignorant churchwardens, whilst the still more noble remains of Christian Art, as exhibited by the sculptor's hand, were unmercifully destroyed by the Iconoclasts in the seventeenth century; when we moreover remember how few of the earlier productions of the painter's art are to be met with either in our public or private galleries, it cannot but be admitted that the Illuminated MSS. form a very important feature in the history of Art. Upon this subject Dr. Waagen, the Head Curator of the Royal Museum at Berlin, and one of the most learned authorities on ancient Art, thus expresses himself:—'Another branch of the Fine Arts of which the English were very fond, were MSS. illustrated with Miniatures, which are of so much importance in the history of Painting; for as greater monuments of the early centuries of the Middle Ages are entirely wanting in most countries in Europe, and are very rare in others, it is only by means of these Miniatures that we can obtain a knowledge of the state of painting from the fourth to the fifteenth century. They teach us how Christian Art, long faithful to its mother the antique, in the conception and mechanical part, gradually assumed in both a new and peculiar manner; and how, subsequently, the ideas of different nations were impressed upon it. *In them alone* is contained the complete, extremely large circle of representations and inventions which the paintings of the Middle Ages have embraced. Nay, from them proceeded even the whole of the great advance of the Art of Painting, both in Italy and the Netherlands, in the fifteenth century. For the celebrated Fiesole, who was

the first in Italy who in his paintings made the happiest use of the variety of intellectual expression in the human countenance, and thereby led to a new era in the Arts, was the pupil of a miniature-painter and first cultivated that property in this branch of the art. In like manner, the celebrated brothers, Hubert and John Van Eyck, the founders of the great Flemish school, were essentially disciples of that school of miniature-painters which, in the second half of the fourteenth century, was so flourishing, and had attained so high a degree of perfection in the Netherlands. Of the great number of such important monuments which were brought to light, especially by the dissolution of so many monasteries in all parts of Europe, an astonishing proportion has come to England and is preserved there, partly in public institutions and partly in private collections.' "

From such considerations as the preceding, joined to the fact that it was especially in the delineation of Biblical subjects and in the ornamentation of MSS. of the Bible and devotional works that all the skill of the most eminent miniaturists were called into play, Mr. Westwood was induced to suppose that a selection of specimens might be formed which would afford an insight into the character and design of these remarkable works of Art.

With this view, therefore, instead of copying a series of Miniatures from a single MS., he selected the subjects of the plates of this work from a number of celebrated volumes, chiefly embellished for the private use of our Sovereigns and other eminent persons, amongst which are to be mentioned the Psalters of St. Louis, King of France, and of our King Henry VI.; the "Bible Historiale" of Jehan, the famous Duke de Berri; and the Prayer-Books of Queen Mary de Medicis, Francesco Sforza the last Duke of Milan, King Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, and Queen Mary; together with others executed by the celebrated painters, Lucas Van Leyden, Pietro Perugino, and Martin Schongauer. These selections, although the work is far too limited both in extent and price, to afford anything like a generalized idea of the style and beauty of execution of the Miniatures of Illuminated MSS., afford the means of contrasting the styles of Art of several of the chief Schools of Design during the Middle Ages. Thus, whilst the Miniature of the Ascension of the Saviour is a valuable specimen of the Byzantine School of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that of the three Maries at the Sepulchre is not less interesting as a contemporary production of the very early German School. As specimens of the paintings of the first half of the thirteenth century, executed in the West of Europe, the Miniatures of David and Goliath, the Genealogy of Christ, and the Four-and-twenty Elders on the Throne, may be noticed;

whilst those of the Creation of the Animal World, and the Blessing of Isaac Perverted, are equally interesting as evidences of the amelioration of Art in the latter half of the same century.

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